AT THE BOTTOM:
America's third class citizens

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor
(Second of Three Articles)

For the past two months the American press has been noting the 10th anniversary of two significant events in 1968 — the Kerner Commission's Report On Urban Disorders and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis. In noting the decade following the two events, much of the discussion revolved around the social and economic changes that had taken place among blacks in America.

IN 1968 ONE of the conclusions of the Kerner Report was that "our nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal." Ten years later the view was expressed that America had moved towards three societies. One white, one black middle class, and a black underclass. The 10-year period had produced significant progress for the black middle class, but the black poor had been socially and economically down-graded during the 10 year period to the level of an "under-class."

The making of the black underclass has been a long and hard effort. Its beginnings date back many decades. It had its social origin in the developing class structure among blacks in slavery. The wide social gulf between slave house-servants, freed slaves, slave overseers and skilled slaves as against the slaves doomed to the fields served as a foundation for the strong class lines among blacks after Emancipation.

GENERALLY, the house slave maintained a favored position among slaves on the plantation. The small favors, rewards and proximity to the master and his folkways produced a sense of house slave superiority over the more numerous field-hands. Consequently, an early crude caste system began to emerge in the slave community with the "clean, cultivated house slave" looking down on the "common, unwashed, immoral, illiterate field hand." For the most part the slave in the field absorbed a great deal of the cruelty and de-humanizing effects of slavery while the life of many of the favored house slaves was more endurable, more permanent in relationships and closer to the mores of the slave-owning aristocracy.

With Emancipation many of the former house slaves and skilled craftsmen emerged as the dominant group among the new freedmen. They had some major advantages. Many were literate and had an eye for business. Those who had been trained in crafts and skills found an economic niche for themselves, and many former black overseers became land-owners and operated their own plantations. For the most part the social reflexes of this new, emerging black middle class were "borrowed" from the old slave-owners. This included the social graces, demeanor, conduct and the acquisition of property.

AS THE DECADES passed the black poor absorbed most of the physical, social and economic punishment of a segregated society. One of the great weaknesses of the civil rights movement during the past 50 years is that most of the black poor have never been part of it. For the most part the civil rights movement has been historically geared to black middle class needs. This includes the NAACP, CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.

The civil rights movement grew out of a series of social and moral images that are strongly rooted in the historic search for an equalitarian society. For the most part these moral images have not been geared to the rootless American black poor, simply because it was stabilized around black middle-class expectation and white liberal guilt complexes.

IT WAS WITHIN THIS framework that we found the major weakness of the Kerner Report and its assessment of the urban riots of 1965-67. The report found reasons for these out-breaks within the confines of the civil rights movement, and sought to identify the causes in terms of black middle class expectations.

The real fact of the matter is that the causes of the unprecedented urban outbreaks of the middle sixties were social exercises in hopelessness and frustration by the urban black poor. It moved with great intensity but without purpose, without leadership and its momentum carried aimlessly by its own built-in thrust of despair, hate and vengeance. The depressed, rootless black poor were reacting violently to decades of social and economic isolation. The causes of the urban disorders had to be found within the nature of the rootlessness of this expanding black urban depressed population. It had to be found within the black class structure as well as the accumulative economic isolation within the "American success" apparatus. It also had to be found within the systems of containment of the "black poor" by law enforcement agencies throughout America.

DEHUMANIZING the black poor has been a major American exercise. Consequently in the American order of things the black poor is the most restricted and "scheduled" of Americans. This population is buffeted about in a social complex that has a tendency to grade and classify roots, human soil and environment. And here, where subtle caste overtones exist, the black poor is both the "untouchable and unreachable" in American society.

The black poor is merely cold arithmetic, a statistic, a downward curve on a research chart and part of an equation that has never been intimately involved in the process of social and economic change. This is the view of many. This population was one part of the black experience. The other part has prospered and made significant gains within the American mainstreams.

THE CURRENT STRUCTURAL shifts in the American economy brought on by new technology and internal change have intensified the traditional gap between the black middle class and the black poor to the point of institutionalizing the gap that is reflected in the emergence of third-class Americans or the separatist black under-class.

City's health care 'deplorable'

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

The city of St. Louis has a death rate some 60 per cent above the national average.

The city as a whole has the second highest infant mortality rate among the major U.S. cities. For black ghettos in these major cities the infant mortality rate in the St. Louis black community is the highest.

St. Louis is the No. 1 city for lead paint poisoning, and it has the fourth highest death rate for influenza and pneumonia among the major cities in the country.

STATISTICALLY, if one were looking for a place to die, St. Louis would perhaps be the most accommodating city in America.

Much of this is due to the extreme poverty and deep-seated social ills that grip the city. The city has the largest percentage of citizens on public assistance among the major cities. Comparatively speaking, housing dilapidation is extremely high, median years of education for population 25 years and over is among the lowest, and the percentage of low-income female-headed families is among the highest in major U.S. cities. The Hardship Index lists St. Louis as second.

For many past decades the city's health and hospital system developed without structural form or adequate reason. It grew like topsy and the organizational distortion became a way of political life in St. Louis. Each municipal administration found it necessary to add its own brand of administrative straight-jackets without any relationship to what had gone on before.

THE NET RESULT is that the administration of the public health and hospital system in St. Louis is perhaps the most frustrating of all municipal tasks. For the most part the system runs itself with a collection of political and health "turfs" and "empires" that reject efficient operation. Within this administrative jungle the chief administrative officer serves mostly to mediate and to keep peace among the many self-serving "turfs" that currently make up the health and hospital program of St. Louis.

It was upon this back-drop of serious health and hospital care deficiency, the increasing human need and the administrative jungle that the Health Service System Task Force began work last July. Appointed by Mayor James Conway, the task force was asked to take a good hard look at the city's health delivery system and to make recommendations to improve the system. Made up of six black and eight white citizens, the Task Force investigated administrative procedures, interviewed a number of experts, visited all the health and hospital facilities, discussed a countless number of reports on the subject of modern public health care, gathered information on the experience of other cities in this field, and took a good hard inward look at the St. Louis public health delivery system.

THE STORY WAS quite negative for a modern American city. As a matter of fact, the City Ambulance condition is merely the tip of the iceberg of the problems of health delivery efficiency in St. Louis.

After six months of concentrated effort the task force presented to the Mayor a conceptual frame for the pursuit of a comprehensive, efficient, quality-oriented health care delivery system for St. Louis. The ultimate direction of this pursuit (although not expressly stated) is the regionalization of public health and hospital care.

Several sections of the report deal with the removal of the under-brush and excessive deadwood built up over the decades through political manipulation.

THE CENTER-PIECE for a new health delivery system in the St. Louis area, as proposed by the task force, is the creation of a new medical center complex. The whole purpose is to integrate acute care, long-term care, ambulatory care, preventive education, environmental problem areas, public school health education and record-keeping into a single system of health and hospital delivery services.

Both present acute care hospitals — Phillips and Starkloff — are to continue within the complex, but there may be changes in their functions, depending upon the health needs of the area. No one is proposing the closing of either of these hospitals, but only making them more efficient and meaningful from a patient point of view.

THE FIRST STEP towards efficiency and improvement of service is the integration of the staffs of both acute care centers, with one set of rules, one set of procedures, one medical director, one system of university affiliation and the elimination of duplicative effort. An interesting question emerges here: Can we pursue an integrated public school system, while we tenaciously cling to a segregated hospital staff system.

Perhaps the most exciting part of the conceptual frame is the proposal to expand ambulatory care centers throughout the city. This is the health proposal that will take us into the 21st century, and could be the one that will give the city a comprehensive, three dimensional weapon against disease and deficient health and hospital care in St. Louis.

Ernest Calloway was a member of Mayor James Conway's Health Service System Task Force.

HDC Controversy And The War On Poverty

Conspiracy Against The Poor Of St. Louis?

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Is there a conspiracy against the poor of St. Louis? *The answer is yes.*

However, to keep the answer in balance with modern reality the conspiracy is not an indigenous St. Louis enterprise, but operates as an integral part of a broader national drive to subvert any meaningful programming against the social miseries of income deficiency. The significant local department from the norm is that the St. Louis decision making establishment suports its own native variation of the Big Deception.

The master conspiracy is deep and sustained by the brutal fact that the history of the American political and legislative process has continually been one of a unilateral power compact to keep the impoverished and dispossessed in their "inferior place". Consequently, if there are any meaningful lessons to be obtained from the on-going effort to enlarge the area of functional human integrity (democratic rights, economic opportunity, human dignity) they are certainly found in the slow, painful experience of loosening the noose of this ancient plot against the poor and voiceless in every age of our nation.

The Poor In U.S. History

These slow advances against the Grand Conspiracy of predatory power are reflected in a number of hard-fought victories for human rights over property rights, or people over things. This certainly would include the agonizing effort to secure the Bill of Rights, the successful struggle for universal manhood suffrage by eliminating the ownership of property as a prime prerequisite to the right to vote, the slow achievement of tax-supported public education and elimination of the degrading "pauper schools" for the children of the poor, the struggle against debtor prisons and the system of forced labor among the poor in debt, the struggle of the abolitionists against the slave system, the extension of the right to vote to women, the right of poor labor to organize, the struggle to eliminate child labor among the poor, the achievement of the eight-hour day, the concept of social insurance, the civil rights revolution, and now the most dangerous of all social enterprises—the elimination of poverty and income deficiency as a part of the fabric of American life. In all of these efforts the powerful conspirators against the poor fought with massive fury to maintain the status quo. But in these instances the poor won partial victories which added immeasurably to the quality of American democratic life.

Affluent Value System

Meanwhile, back in St. Louis and the modern era, it is becoming increasingly clear that the economic decision-making community has no intention of dealing forthrightly with the hard-core problems of poverty, disease and human misery in the central city. This is not an exercise in good and evil, and it does not mean that these decision-makers are St. Louisians dedicated to grinding out injustices and spreading misery all over the place. It is not that simple and cannot be reduced to moral absolutes: as a matter of fact many of these economic decision-makers seek to maintain a humane view of urban problems dealing with people. Nonetheless, the base problem is that these decision-makers are caught up in an economic value system that lacks empathy with and is insensitive to broad social solutions of human problems that cannot meet the tests and refined thirsts of the affluent experience. The value system, which places the highest premium upon aggressive competitiveness, high motivational drive, status-hunting and the arts and practices of respectability (including charity and civic pride), dominates the affluent mentality.

Of Poverty And Charity

Consequently, within the frame of the economic decision-making mentality and the affluent experience, the St. Louis Human Development Corporation (anti-poverty program) is viewed essentially as another charitable, but federal government-endowed, enterprise. From this social vantage point the anti-poverty mechanism is just a few steps removed from the United Fund of Greater St. Louis—the more self-serving instrument with all of the mechanisms designed to perpetuate the "proper affluent leadership. Here we have the established hierarchy of respectability and corporate gift-making that arbitrarily determines the proper and safe recipients of the charity. It is all so washed and neat and free of civic controversy that the only purpose it really serves is that of a "conscience bank" for the decision-makers and a slide-rule form measuring respectability in the affluent

The Poor Of St. Louis?

Thus. what quietly began as a routine effort to compose some representational differences between St. Louis city and county, strengthen the minority voice of the grass-roots, and consider the nebulous, but potentially self-perpetuating leadership character of the Human Development Corporation, quickly blossomed into a major controversy from the outside with threats of withdrawing federal funds and charges of ulterior motives, political power plays and mayoralty control scattered all over the kitchen floor.

One gets the distinct impression that somewhere along the way a sensitive Establishment nerve was struck. The speed and resoluteness in which the posse gathered to head off the "bad guys" at the mountain pass compounds the impression that the "war against poverty" is a massive charade and its prime function is to contain the "poor" and at the same time pursue a program of limited pacification without disturbing traditional economic and political balances in the urban complex.

The Factors of Control

Nevertheless, the effort to consider some re-structuring of the Human Development Corporation did reveal several significant companion factors that have increasing negative impact upon the whole problem of a community seeking to close income and cultural gaps within the frame of its own experience and social terrain. Among these are:

(1) the extent of the reach of the federal government by informal memo and the weight of unilateral personal observations by federal bureaucrats.

(2) the depth of local community commitment in the effort to erase income deficiency as a part of the poverty matrix.

(3) the growing extent of federal inter-agency conflict over matters dealing with "poverty" and how a local community suffers as the end victim of this "appropriations war" among the federal bureaucrats. The OEO-Dept. of Labor compact on employment programming is an example.

(4) the extent of federal strangulation in local community decision-making, and the increasing open and blatant use of economic black-mail (withdrawal of funds) to force conformity with the prevailing disposition of the reigning bureaucrat.

The central issue that gave rise to all of the heat and charges of ulterior motives and power-plays revolved around the issue of private self-perpetuating leadership and the proposal designed to make the city and the county the prime metropolitan agents in the conduct of the efforts against poverty. In line with this, the original proposal was one of making the St. Louis County Supervisor and the Mayor of the city of St. Louis directly responsible for the appointment of all community members to the Board of Directors of the Human Development Corporation. A further proposal reduced the term of office from five to four years, and appointments made on a staggered basis removing the possibility of any concentration of appointments in one term of office by any mayor or supervisor. The numerical division of appointments between the Mayor and the Supervisor had been tentatively agreed upon within the committee. but it was an extremely sensitive matter and later reacher a snag. All of this was to replace the practice of the Board nominating a panel of names for HDC directorships.

Conflict of Interest

The restructuring committee also considered the OEO suggestion that federal, local and private agencies involved in aspects of the poverty program be considered for automatic membership on the HDC board. Since many of the agencies are OEO sub-contractors and involved in HDC funds, it was felt that such ex-officio membership on the board could possibly present a conflict of interest situation, and the committee rejected the OEO "suggestion". However, the committee did accept the suggestion that representatives of the "poor" be directly nominated to the Board without submitting a panel of nominees to the mayor or county supervisor.

This, in essence is what was considered by the committee in seeking some initial streamlining of the structure of the Human Development Corporation. It was the proposal designed to make the city and the county a more active and responsible force in the conquest of local poverty that sent political candidates, congressional committee members, newspaper editorialists and OEO bureaucrats in a wild chase into the night with rope and faggot.

Blacks Need A Major Preventive Care Program

St. Louis — A Major 'Death Trap' For The Poor, Old, Sick And Black

By EARNEST CALLOWAY

As we witness the continuing political manipulation of a hospital issue as a black vote-herding apparatus, we should take hard note of the fact that at the same time another dreadful disease is taking over as a prime killer among St. Louis blacks. The new black killer in St. Louis is cancer.

As the black and white politicians merrily exploit the Homer Phillips issue, count their ballots and congratulate each other on their "smart campaigns," the city of St. Louis strengthened its grip on its position as the nation's No. 1 Death Trap. It is America's most dangerous city for those who are poor, sick, old and black.

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Last week a study for the Environmental Protection Agency showed that St. Louis was a major cancer "hot spot." Death rates from cancer in St. Louis were described as "excessive." This follows a study two years ago on cancer deaths which showed St. Louis with a death rate much higher than the national death rate from this disease. This study also revealed that St. Louis blacks maintained a higher death rate from cancer than whites. Poverty is considered a leading cause of cancer, and in the U.S. that spells "black."

Black Health Need Out Of Focus

A major problem affecting black health need and the disease quagmire is that both have been completely out of focus for many years in the St. Louis black community. Example: one isolated aspect of black health care (Homer Phillips Hospital) has operated primarily for the past 15 years as a (1) planned political issue, (2) as a community monument and local pride instrument, and (3) as a black medical power issue. Within this frame of reference, the problem of top-rate health care for the black poor of St. Louis has always been of secondary importance.

During the 70's there is the case of a group of local black citizens (Dr. Eugene Mitchell, Comptroller John Bass, Mrs. Marian Oldham and many others) concerned with improving the quality of care at Phillips Hospital approached the School of Medicine at Washington University with the idea of discussing the possibility of an official relationship between the School of Medicine at Washington University and Homer Phillips Hospital in the training of medical students. An agreement was finally reached, but the whole thing was rejected by the medical staff at Homer Phillips hospital, who were determined to protect their little "turfs" at the expense of improving the quality of care at this northside hospital.

What black St. Louis needs to be doing in 1981 is to get its real, over-riding health and disease problem into clear, sharp focus. For some strange reason we have conditioned our social mentality to the black health needs of 1914-1922. The black health needs of 1914 when they constituted 6.3% of the city's population and were only admitted to the basement of City Hospital, is not the same as the massive black health needs of 1981 when they are 45.5% of the city's population and able to enter any hospital if properly insured. But the real, great difference is that poverty and disease have joined hands to make St. Louis a major Death Trap for the black urban poor. More than a hospital is needed to break the back of this trap.

St. Louis: Black Poverty Capital

Today approximately 35% of the St. Louis black community can be classified as poverty-stricken. This figure is perhaps the highest among major cities in the north and midwest. Among other negative titles that St. Louis has earned, it could also be referred to as "The Black Poverty Capital" among major cities in the north and midwest. A recent study showed that St. Louis ranked first among 25 major U.S. cities in the percentage of its population receiving Aid To Families With Dependent Children. In St. Louis 16.4% of the population is dependent upon AFDC aid.

Another part of the problem that must be brought into clear focus is the matter of the continuing excessive death rates in St. Louis. In reviewing the death rates in the city since 1960,

the records will show that the death rate in the 12 leading causes of death St. Louis has remained far above the national average in all of them. The same is true in comparing the city's rate with St. Louis county's rate.

In 1960 the city's death rate (1,385 per 100,000 population) was 45% higher than the national death rate (954.7 per 100,000 population). Also in 1960 the city's death rate was 94% higher than St. Louis County's rate (734.6 per 100,000).

By 1975 the city's death rate had moved to 52% higher (1,361.0) than the national death rate (897.3). In 1975 the city's rate was 84% higher than the ST. Louis county's rate.

Racial Death Triage

Out of this excessive and continuing high rate in St. Louis, we have developed a peculiar "Racial Death Triage" based on age groupings. The St. Louis Death Triage is as follows:

Up to the age 44 some 70% or more of the persons who will die in St. Louis will be black.

Between 45 and 65 years of age, it appears that a civil right factor is operating in the death rate for this age group in St. Louis. Here the death rate comes close to the black-white percentage of the population.

After 65 years of age whites take over to do about 75% of the dying in St. Louis.

The hard fact of the matter is that the black poor of St. Louis serves as the prime victim of these harsh statistics of disease and death while black politicians and black middle-class elements (many from suburbia where they fled to get away from the black poor) play political games with the lives and future health of thousands of black citizens.

Highest Infant Mortality

Another disgraceful problem of health that affects mostly the black poor is that black babies die like flys in St. Louis. For years the black community of St. Louis has maintained consistently the highest infant mortality rate among black communities in major U.S. cities. This was true even in the days when Homer Phillips was alive and active. This also is more than the problem of a hospital.

Infant mortality tells us something else. According to medical and health experts, infant mortality rates serve as an excellent barometer of the overall quality of health care in a community, a city, a state or a nation. Among the major industrial nations the United States for years has maintained the highest infant mortality rate, and in the U.S. the St. Louis black community has been holding on to the highest infant mortality rate among major cities. Quality health-wise this should put black St. Louis problem in clear focus. In Atlanta the deadly killer of 28 black children is an unknown savage, but in St. Louis the deadly killer of hundreds of black babies each year is social and political indifference, poverty and the absence of any creative health care planning.

Preventive Health Care

If the black poverty-stricken community of St. Louis is to improve its survival level on the health and disease front, the key phrase is "Preventive Health Care." Yes, hospitals are necessary, but the hospital — for the most part — is where you get before dying. The name of the game in the deep reaches of the black community should be to prevent a disease from getting a foothold on the human body.

Thus for the black poor "Preventive Health Care" must be the revolutionary call to action. This can best be done with an expansion of comprehensive, ambulatory facilities and services throughout the black community. Also the city programs and federally-financed programs should join forces in a number of areas in order to improve community reach, record keeping and quality of service.

Homer Phillips hospital must be saved, but not as an acute care hospital. We can be much more creative than that. Our black, poor, aged population is a major health problem in the city. Homer Phillips should be converted into a specialized geriatrics institution to deal with the special problems and diseases of old age and aging people.
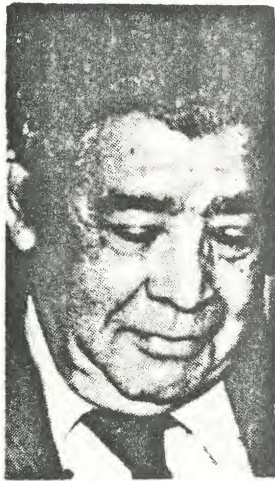
In Search Of Creative Black Sur.ival

Playing Of Ghetto Games Destroy The Black Survival Instinct

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

As we move deeper into the decade of the 1980s and closer to the 21st century several things are starring U.S. and St. Louis blacks in the face that are bound to have serious negative impact upon the black future. They are: the social and economic direction of the current Reagan administration; the significant change in the structure of manpower due to technology; the continuing down-grading of the public education system and poverty.

How to become the richest and most technologically advanced nation in human history and still remain the most poverty-strickened in terms of social purpose and

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moral drive is a central question that goes to the heart of the modern American order. Massive wealth really deserves more than just the statistics of economic capacity or the flow charts of productive ability. Above all, it should not be rooted in the greed equation found in current Reagan economic legislation. The wealth of the nation should have a deeper purpose for the great mass of our citizens.

The enigma of wealth and lack of real national purpose, in many ways, emerges from the uneven development of American social and economic patterns in which the two have moved in separate directions. Far too often our economic pursuits have been completely unaware of our broad social needs and the gap has given us wealth without purpose. This gap has also given the U.S. the highest "greed quotient" in the industrial west.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

One significant uneven development is our helplessness as a nation in reconciling the ancient trauma of race in what has been called a "free society." And it is this one particular gap in our national character that undermines the thrust towards real national greatness.

Perhaps some of the answer is due to the possibility that the philosophical western European mind could not move beyond the Anglo-Saxon perimeters in its concept of constitutional government, inalienable right, free enterprise, human equality; and releasing the free spirit of man. Evidently these concepts related only to western man and not universal man, and especially non-white man. One thing is certain, however. The pinch in western social and moral thought has been felt mostly in the U.S. with its teeming multi-racial society.

SLAVERY, JIM CROW, GHETTO

From black slavery to black Jim Crow to black ghetto is the sum and substance of U.S. social history, and this racial containment journey has produced the hard-core enviroment of today's social purposelessness and moral inertia for the richest nation in human history.

Contrary to popular opinion this racial journey has not been a regional affair. Both north and south exploited and gained from slavery in different ways. While Jim Crow is southern in social origin, the black ghetto is wholly northern in its historic development. In all cases the design is to demean the human personality to the greater glory of the master race and the Almighty Dollar.

We must note that in this black-white frame we find two separate historical impulses moving in opposite directions. It is the impulse of black survival in a hostile enviroment, and the impulse of denial in a self-controlled enviroment.

SEARCH FOR SURVIVAL

And this brings us to the point that the black citizen today is perhaps faced with his most difficult survival test as an active, creative force for change. His creative survival impulse must be revitalized in a very positive, aggressive fashion and organized into a massive co-ordinated movement of awareness and being. The essence of being is awareness and the measure of awareness is only found in doing. Awareness and doing are the only roads to creative being and it is within this frame where the black citizen must now begin to develop an encompassing social and moral philosophy to under-gird his struggle now and in the future.

To do less at this dangerous juncture of human history with new forces of massive economic power joined by revoluntionary technology and

ultra-conservative politics is really to give up the fight and perish with the many ghetto games of limited self-interest.

GHETTO GAMES

We cannot survive by continuing to play the game of political colonialism. A game in which the prime function of most black ghetto politicians is to deliver black citizens as vote "fodder" for a fee to dominant white interest. Such political elements in the black ghetto maintain their turfs and political crumb business at the expense of a more dominant and meaningful black political thrust.

We cannot survive by continuing to play the ghetto game of social fragmentation. Community unity must become the first order of business. Another problem is the great desire to create small isolated groups of social protest on single issues rather than carving out a major, unified community instrument to deal with the various aspects of human inequity and social need.

We cannot survive by continuing to play the old ghetto game of accepting inferior public education. We have a major stake in high quality public education, but it is on its way out as a great American institution. Good public education in black neighborhoods makes good sense, whether we have white students or not in classes.

We cannot survive by the dangerous game of 'black on black' crime in the ghetto. The same is true in the area of health and housing.

The pursuit of awareness and the search for creative being demand a rejection of ghetto mentality and game playing as well as our self-defeating minority mentality. This is a hard psychological row to hoe, but these are hard dangerous times and it has been this negative psychological baggage that has undermined our creative survival impulse and made it most difficult for a moral ingathering of black Americans for a common purpose.

The ghetto games have divided us. The time is now to re-group with new purpose and added determination. Next year may be too late.

Remembrances

Harlem Summer 1925

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Mid-way in that short, frantic slot of time called the "Roaring Twenties" there were few places in America where this somewhat corrupt and unrestrained decade roared with more vigor and abandon than New York City. It was a time of speakeasies, silent Calvin Coolidge, not so silent Texas Guinan, bobbed hair, gangsters, instant paper fortunes, F. Scott Fitzgerald, bath-tub gin, the **CALLOWAY** Sacco-Vanzetti case, the Charleston and good time Mayor Jimmie Walker. Unfortunately, history records that these unhibited sounds of the Roaring Twenties weer not the confident tones of the future, but rather the foreboding prophecy of doom for an American order that was to come by the end of the decade.

But several miles uptown beyond Central Park a different sound from a different drummer was abroad in the city. They were insistent sounds that somehow would outlive the superficial noises of the decade, and in years to come leave an indelible imprint upon the social mores of a great American city.

They were the sounds of Harlem, an urban compound of 150,000 Negroes and more coming each day from the south and the Caribbeans in search of human redemption and new meaningful opportunity. This massive movement of black population had begun some ten years before with the advent of World War I, and Harlem had definitely replaced San Juan Hill (a black enclave on the westside in mid Manhattan) as the center of black population in New York City.

Although the sounds were the same there were many Harlems in 1925, and it was this human diversity that made it the most exciting Negro community in America.

There was the   Harlem of the lers, bootleggers and the emerging "numbers" racket which was to take the form of a major Harlem industry.

There was the Caribbean Harlem of the thrifty, tightly-knitted, purposeful West Indians who were to exert great influence in business, politics and social protest.

There was the political Harlem of Ferdinand Q. Morton, Tammany Hall's overseer in black vote-herding and minor patronage dispensing.

There was the flamboyant "Back to Africa" Harlem of the colorful Marcus Garvey who produced one of the greatest mass movements in black America.

There was the upper crust Harlem of Striver's Row (139th St.), Sugar Hill (Edgecombe Avenue) and Carl Van Vechten's novel "Nigger Heaven."

There was the literary New Renaissance Harlem of Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Alain Locke, Rudolph Fisher and others.

There was the socialist and working class Harlem of A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, who co-edited Messenger Magazine, "the most dangerous of all Negro publications" a Congressional committee once stated.

And there was the glittering, fun-loving entertainment-packed Harlem of the Lafayette Theater, the Savoy, Small's Paradise, Connie's Inn, the Cotton Club, dancer Bill Robinson, the incomparable Florence Mills, Ethel Waters, blues singer **Bessie Smith, jolly Fats Waller, Noble Sissle, Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, an unknown young chorus girl from St. Louis Josephine Baker, and a refugee trumpt player from King Oliver's band in Chicago — Louis Armstrong.**

It was late in the Spring of 1925 when I ran away from home and school (home in this case was Lynchburg, Virginia where I had been sent to live with an aunt and attend high school) and went to New York where I stayed for the entire summer. For a young, callow lad of 16 who had spent most of his years in a contained "company" town in t heKentucky Cumberlands, that summer in Harlem in 1925 was an enveloping experience. I found a job with the Hudson River Day Line as a bus-boy and between the natural beauty of the Hudson River landscape (before pollution) and the excitement of Harlem my world was complete.

But in looking backward it was a shallow experience because I was only attracted to the superficial Harlem of bright lights, flashy clothing and the the surface that I first knew, and it required many years of returning for longer periods of time before I began to get the "feel" of the real suppressed and exploited Harlem.

However, the summer of 1925 came to an end, and upon learning that my mother was dying of cancer I returned to the coal-fields of the Kentucky Cumberlands. The following year I entered the coal mines where I spent the next several years in the dark, damp, dreary bowels of an Appalachian coal "patch." But the summer in Harlem had taken its toll with a new restlessness and curiosity about the world beyond Appalachia.

A Jungle of Job Semantics

by Ernest Calloway

One must be a mental contortionist of the highest order to grasp and comprehend the variety and limited function of the innumerable job training, job preparation, job need and job talking programs sponsored today by the federal government. The confusing effort could easily be described as **Operation "Look Ma! No Hands."**

The only clear picture we ordinary simple folk seem to get out of the whole maze of competing bureaucratic effort is a vast formless conglomerate of meaningless alphabets that are struggling to spell something, and equally meaningless thumbnail descriptions of America's unemployed and under-employed in a climate of continuous economic growth and development. During the Great Depression, some 35 years ago, we only had to contend with CCC and WPA with the social-leveling phrase **"out of work"** supporting a common meaning for the whole American community. Furthermore, it was common knowledge that the broad purpose of the programs related to the national effort of economic "pump-priming" in line with the Keynesian notions of deficit federal spending as a method of restoring purchasing power in an economy that had struck rock bottom.

But today it is a different kettle of fish: the economy is zooming towards a thousand billion (trillion) dollar summit as compared to the $80 billion or more in 1939. Nonetheless, the alphabet game on the job front has reached smothering proportions, and each week a random harvest of new alphabets are stored into the job silos. When they run out of alphabets for programs and agencies dealing with the problems of employment, someone starts the flow of "Operations" (this or that) to excite the over-saturated imagination on the U.S. manpower front.

Here are some samples of alphabets that the ordinary citizen must contend with if he is to survive in the jungle of employment semantics: USES, MDTA, EOA, NYC, JC, CAP, OEO, CEP, CMP, NAB, BAT, JOBS, ERACC, LEAP, CAMPS, USTES, MA, RSA, VE, VR, ABE VIP, Operation Mainstream, Out-Reach, "Buddy" System, Special Impact and New Careers. If you can adequately unravel one fourth of these to Cousin Willie's satisfaction you are an instant manpower "expert" and should be serving as a high-priced "consultant" to a major U.S. industrial firm.

Seemingly there is a program and a companion set of built-in bureaucrats for everything except gainful, satisfactory employment for an increasing percentage of unemployed and under-employed Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Appalachian whites.

However, let us not lose faith, because we do have stored away a bumper crop of thumb-nail descriptions and word games to explain why these oldest of Americans have such a traumatic experience and difficult time in entering the mainstreams of the American economy with its constantly expanding work force. Yet, for some unexplained reason these peculiar social and cultural diseases do not infect the thousands of immigrants and "refugees" coming into the U.S. every year. It seems that when they approach the expanding U.S. labor market the only difficulties they have are language, preparation for citizenship, absorbing the attitudes surrounding the racial mores of American life, and obtaining the directions to the job site.

But when we approach these oldest of Americans we enter the jungle of the semantics of economic despair and we trot out a host of things we would not want our innocent daughters caught out with after dark. Among some are: hard-core unemployed, low motivation, socially handicapped, disadvantaged adults, unemployables, cultural lag, work experience gap, culturally deprived, indigenous people (what in the hell is that), functionally illiterate, socially maladjusted, remedial needs, and on into the dark, despairing night.

The grand-daddy of this modern maze of alphabetic programs and agencies and sociological verbiage is the Employment Act of 1946, in which government—for the first time—assumed a degree of responsibility in maintaining "the right to useful . . . employment," and assuring that sufficient opportunities for gainful work shall exist. The legislation was inspired by Roosevelt's second vice-president Henry A. Wallace, who had a vision of a quart of milk for "every Hottentot" and a goal of 60 million jobs in the U.S. (today approximately 80 million Americans are in the civilian labor force).

However, it was the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 that really began the construction of the super-structure of programs in the employment field, and with the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (anti-poverty program) and an independent agency to pursue the program, the competing bureaucratic alphabets began to fly all over the place to the point of our present smothered condition.

If we could work ourselves out of the rubble of alphabets and the suffocating language of despair, we may possibly provide every American with gainful employment.

A Summer To Remember

By Ernest Calloway

During the past few years the term "long hot summer" has assumed an unusually omnious meaning in the American language. In its broad social outlines it acquired a fearsome, threatening definition that sent shivers down the spine of black and white communities throughout America.

For the most part it was black powerless and dispossessed America in revolt at the long-ignored bottom of heap with only the weapons of anger, hate and hopelessness to sustain an out-pouring of violent contempt for the processes of law and order. **"Let it burn, baby — let it burn"** became the terrifying antidote to the pent-up frustration of hopeless, stakeless living.

Among other things this new destructive mood exposed the utter bankruptcy of traditional Negro leadership which had been built upon a social value system that pursued middle class aims at the expense of those at the bottom of the economic heap. The mood glaringly revealed the marked social gap in communication between those Negroes at the top of the heap and the broad mass of problem-torn Negroes seeking to survive daily at the bottom of the pack in the black ghettos throughout America.

This super-structure of middle-class oriented leadership in a number of related efforts was one that was firmly rooted in a series of balanced interdependent relationships with the dominant white business and political leadership that for all practical purposes produced a strange culture of "urban colonialism" as pervasive and degrading in our American urban centers as that obtained in Africa and Asia under western imperialism. While it was not produced knowingly by black leadership its end result served as a magnet which pulls Negro leadership into its accommodating confines.

If the lessons of the "long hot summers" have taught us anything, they should have impressed with the tortured fact that the prime order of business in the black ghetto is the uprooting of the urban colonial systems that are destroying the creative vitality of black America, and reducing the American city to population dumping grounds and social wastelands.

Perhaps the most insidious and downgrading form of urban colonialism is obtained in the field of politics in the black ghetto. For the most part the history of the Negro in urban politics is the history of a succession of white overlords and city political machines using the Negro community as a source of raw "vote fodder" in political power plays that offer no meaningful advantages to the Negro community.

This has become part of the political culture of urban America, and unless the Negro community can uproot these urban colonial yokes the tedious problems of unemployment, housing, health, education, dual standards of justice and law enforcement and other serious social problems will not yield to meaningful solutions. The ability to determine one's own political destiny is intimately wrapped up in the search for sound solutions to problems in the many broad social areas.

This is the real fundamental issue involved in the current Congressional race in the First District. Will the Negro community of St. Louis make a clean and complete break with the Old Politics of urban colonialism, or will the community proceed to seek a vigorous new base of political operations geared to self-determination and the search for its own destiny and integrity as a community?

For the first time the issue is in clear focus without any blurred vision. On the one side we have all of the Negro political leaders who emerged through the machinery of old urban colonial politics.

In the name of an imposed "unity" by forces outside the Negro community, they now find themselves hopelessly caught in an unwholesome conspiracy in which the powerful white overloards are sponsoring two candidates for the same First Congressional district seat—one Negro, who is an employee of the overlords, and one white, who is a political itinerant. The Negro is financed by the overlords, and the white candidate is endorsed and supported by the same forces.

On the other side we have the youthful forces (many are Sen. McCarthy supporters) of community self-determination and those who would seek to break the yoke of external domination. They seek to return the black community to the black people and to permit it to pursue its own political course consistent with its own social and economic need. It is a contest between the political primitives and the exponents of New Politics; between political subservience and political adulthood; between the old chicaneries and double-dealing for a collection of white overlords and the new community integrity in pursuit of its own well-defined goals.

This is the issue in the First Congressional District race, and this is a summer to remember.

INSIDE TODAY'S NUCLEARIZED NEGRO GHETTO

BY ERNEST CALLOWAY
RESEARCH DIRECTOR FOR TEAMSTERS JOINT COUNCIL NO. 13

(REPRINNTED FROM THE MISSOURI TEAMSTER)

The dreary and deadly Negro slums of Los Angeles struck out in massive, brutal fury last week as a wave of unprecedented violence, murder and property damages swept the ghetto of Watts.

And the powder-keg of hopelessness and organic frustration exploded with great social intensity but without purpose, without leadership, without organized design and its momentum carried aimlessly by its own built-in thrust of despair, hate and vengeance.

The net human damage: approximately 5,000 Negroes actively involved out of a total population of 350,000. Thirty-three dead of which 27 were Negroes, 856 injured and 2,900 arrested.

Net property and civil damage: complete break-down of municipal law enforcement, break-down of fire abatement service, 2,000 major fires, wholesale vandelism and nearly $200 million in property damages.

Net emotional damage: "Let it burn, baby, let it burn!"

Net social lesson: the American urban community has now come face to face with the depth of the social horror of the racial ghettoes contained within its own environs.

Net moral lesson: "Do not send to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."

Net civil rights lesson: This thrust has now come to the tedious root of the problem of racial inequity in the affluent society. Middle-class Negro expectations which have been partially achieved through law must now give way to a new conquest of the deep-seated inequalities and their all-inclusive causes at the broad base of the Negro community.

The new thrust for social change must be sensitively attuned to the needs of the broad base of the Negro ghetto, and the middle-class character and images of this effort must be put aside to assume a new, vibrant and universal dimension.

The civil rights movement grows out of the series of middle-class moral images that are strongly rooted in the historic search for an equalitarian society. The NAACP is Jeffersonian in its philosophic outlook; CORE gains a great deal of its moral sustenance from the American humanist — Henry David Thoreau; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Martin Luther King gains much of its philosophical strength from the Hindu moralist and social tactician Mahatma Gandhi, and the student revolt today as characterized by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee perhaps would find greater philosophic support in the persons of two modern French writers and philosopher who on ocassion have disagreed with each other—the late Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre.

For the most part these moral images of the civil rights movement have not been geared to the rootless and depressed humanity in the vast reaches of the American Negro communty. Most of this movement for social change in the status of the Negro in American society has been "stabilized" around middle-class Negro expectations and white liberal guilt complexes.

Consequently in searching for the causes of the Los Angeles racial "up-rising" as well as those of recent months in several other communities many have mistakenly sought reasons within the frame of the current pursuits of the civil rights movement. And the mistake has been compounded by seeking to identify these causes in terms of Negro middle-class expectations.

The fact of the matter is that the causes cannot be found within this particular frame of reference. It must be found within the nature of the rootlessness of this new expanding urban population. It must be found in the weak matriarchial structure of the Negro family out of which a great deal of this rootlessness emerges. It must be found in the social void that undermines the "sense of belonging." It must be found within the hard-core class structure and division within the Negro community, and finally one must search for answers in the accumulative isolation of this rootless humanity within the American "success" apparatus.

In a predatory environment where the natural instinct is to seek out and feed upon the weakest point in the social anatomy, here we are face to face with the primary and most depressed victim of all the impersonal brutalities of modern technology and changing industrial patterns. And this is compounded by a society that systematically divides itself into self-interest social and economic sectors.

Consequently in the American order of things, he is the most restricted and "scheduled" of human beings. He is buffeted about in a social complex that has a strong tendency to grade and classify roots, human soil and environment. And here where subtle caste overtones exist he is both the "untouchable" and the unreachable. He is a piece of cold arithmetic, a statistic, a downward curve on a research chart and a part of an equation that has never been intimately involved in the process of social change.

Any depth study of the movement of Negro population from south to north, from rural to urban places will reveal that a great deal of this movement revolved around that section of the Negro rural population without deep roots even within the many communities and rural areas of the south. The deeply-rooted built a system of values and disciplines in a segregated society which revolves around home, family, church, school, property and a minimum of contact with the caste-oriented white world.

Within this system of values and disciplines the less-rooted and unrooted within the Negro population of the south found it socially difficult to conform and his movement to urban industrial centers offered a new haven and new opportunity in the struggle to survive and the chance to achieve a new individuality for himself.

A great number achieved their limited expectations and moved into the main-streams of northern industrial urban life. However, in an environment which demanded the survival of the fittest there were many who never made the grade. Nevertheless, they remained to increase the flow of social frustration and the emergence of the Negro ghetto in full dimension.

The first mass movement of Negro population from the south began during World War I and was aided and financed by the search of northern industry for new pools of cheap labor. Other mass movements took place during the De-

pression, World War II, and a continuing movement during the Fifties and the Sixties. The latter was brought on by the massive technological revolution in agriculture which today has changed the whole social and economic character of core cities in our many metropolitan areas.

In each of the migratory movements the "success-failure" formula continues with failure becoming the more dominant and permanent pattern. And in each case the broad community has compounded, contained, tightened, isolated, brutally policed, exploited, created dual standards in justice and law enforcement, and has given the singular impression of an alliance against the tremendous residue of frustration of the many who failed to achieve roots in a new environment.

To ignore or temporize with this deadly, organic social despair at the base of the urban Negro ghetto is to invite civil disaster.

And only the social creativeness and the stout boldness as characterized by our scientific space program can serve as the proper human dimension from which this problem can be pursued.
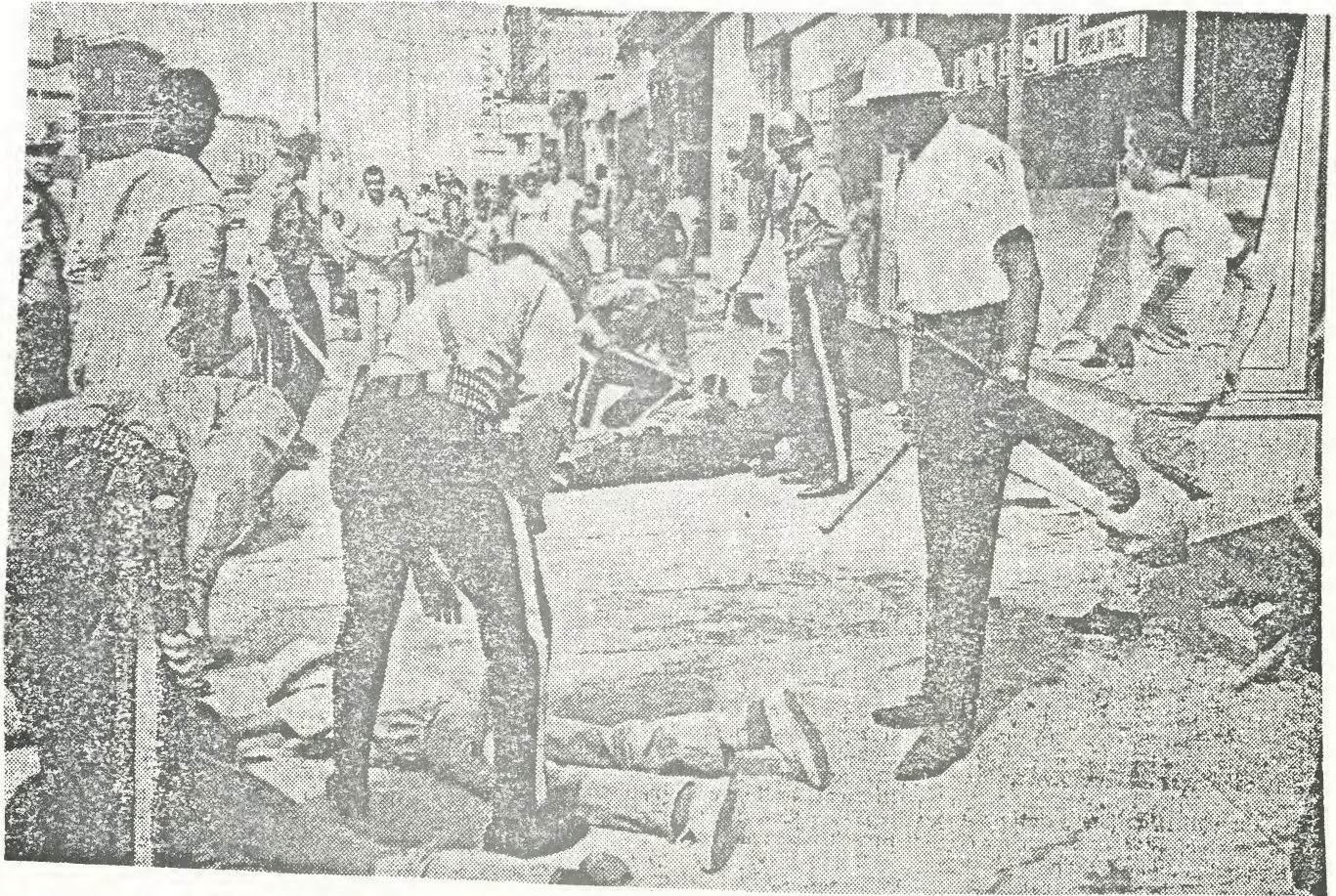
National Guardsmen searching looters' for weapons and stolen merchandise yesterday on Newark's Central Ave

Lessons In People - Packing

by Ernest Calloway

Can you imagine the 61 square mile-city of St. Louis with a population of 30 million persons? This is quite a number of people to pack—even sardine-like—into such a small amount of land space between the Mississippi River and Skinker Boulevard.

In the event you have some difficulty imagining what 30 million people represent we give you the following comparisons to get the figure in perspective:

The 30 million persons are almost seven times greater than the total population of the state of Missouri.

The 30 million persons are approximately the combined current population of the nine hard-core old Confederate states of the south.

The 30 million persons are collectively greater than the total population of the ten major American cities.

The 30 million persons are slightly below the combined population of California and New York—the two most populous states in the Union. The 30 million persons would satisfy the arithmetic to create more than 75 congressional districts.

The 30 million persons are greater than the total Negro population in the U.S. by a substantial amount, and give us enough to include the other "hated" minorities—Indians, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans—and still have room for a few of the "olerated" minorities like the Chinese, Japanese-Americans and Filipino-Americans.

Now we have the 30 million people in focus that are to be vacuum-packed into the city of St. Louis which—incidentally—is one of the smallest in terms of area among the major U.S. cities. Anyway try and visualize this kind of excessive and intensified population density for the city of St. Louis.

If you are having trouble with your imagination, just look around the community and take a good hard view of the population density of St. Louis public housing in general, and the Pruitt-Igoe developments, in particular. Merely project the Pruitt-Igoe population compactness within its 5.3 net acreage to the city as a whole, and you have approximately 30 million person occupying the 13,000 net acres of St. Louis residential land.

Among a host of intense social problems that plague the black urban ghetto, residential and population density play a significant role as the enviromental canopy under which the social and economic defects are spawned, nurtured and permitted to fester in our urban centers. Moreover, it would appear that high density and over intensification of urban land use serve as the not so subtle political and social weapons of racial containment in our central cities.

For the most part the black ghetto of St. Louis is confined to approximately 7,500 of the 40,000 or more gross acres of land that comprise the city of St. Louis. Consequently about 40 percent of the population is confined to about 19 percent of the gross acreage of the city. Net acreage and its distribution would intensify the problem of black density and its impact upon environment. Any density map of St. Louis would show the amazing extent of low density in white sections of the city, and the massive development of intensified land use and extremely high density in the black sections.

And where this density is the highest in the black community and the city as a whole is found in the 206 gross acres (30 net acres—actual amount of land occupied by residential buildings) involving St. Louis public housing projects. The city as a whole has a net residential density of 19.8 dwelling units per net acre, but public housing reflects 271.6 dwelling units per net acre, and the Wendell Pruitt Homes are loaded down with 542.5 dwelling units per net acre.

The tremendous gap in net population density is worse. For the city as a whole the density is 56.4 persons per net acre, but for public housing it is 1,020.9 persons per net acre. Hold on to your hats. At the Pruitt Homes it is 2,166.2 persons per net acre, and at the Igoe Homes it is 2,174.3 persons per net acre. (This is how we get 30 million persons in St. Louis with a population density rate about 40 times greater than the city-wide average).

Density is a major quality and environmental factor in urban living. The more of it you have the worst off you are. The politics and economics of land use in the city of St. Louis are major industries. Strangely enough, it is a problem area that, for the most part, has been ignored by black spokesmen and activists while they concentrated on problems growing out of this planned high intensity land usage in the black community.

Another Part Of The Urban Jungle

City Needs A Full Negro-White Political Partnership

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

It was following the dramatic election of President John F. Kennedy in late 1960 when DeVerne and I discovered a new expensive week-end hobby: we became the proud parents of a 16-page weekly Negro community newspaper—*The New Citizen*. While we lost a large bundle of my weekly Teamster salary on it, we did — however — have an awful lot of fun for three years putting it together on the kitchen table. Morever, in Tom Sawyer-fashion we invited friends and kindred souls to share in the enchantment of producing an off-set, off-beat do-it-yourself community newspaper.

It was an enjoyable project in community self-hood. and there is nothing like getting out a home-cooked newspaper with a house full of working guests to stimulate thought and deeper concern for the community in which one lives. All of us felt that there were many things to be said in an in-grown, fragmented, conservative Negro community that had great difficulty raising its social and political sights. Most of us were social refugees outside the pale of the "responsible" opinion-making sectors within the Negro community, and had gravitated towards each other during the City Charter fight of 1957. Interestingly enough, it was this particular effort to re-write the constitution of the city of St. Louis without confronting the basic issue of people and civil rights that marks the dividing line between the old levels of personal self-interest Negro "spokesmanship" and the new groping community awareness with its diffusion of many vioces of social urgency in the broad reaches of the St. Louis Negro ghetto today.

Changing "Spokesmanship"

Before 1957 the listless and fragmented 200,000-populated Negro community was dominated at the summit by a tight "opinion-molding" apparatus in community affairs that somehow correlated Negro "spokesmanship" with the social tempo and broad needs of the white decision-making community. This accommodating arrangement paid dividends at both ends: the major decision-making elements secured surface harmony without social adjustment at an extremely low cost and the handful of washed, antiseptic, safe Negroes wallowed in the small doses of status and "acceptance" flowing from the Accommodation.

From a different vantage point and a source of influence often in conflict with the Grade A decision-makers, the Negro community was also encircled by a monolithic political complex which was associated with power roots outside the ghetto. Moreover, the continuing political expeditions of these power groupings into the ghetto divided the community—in a somewhat imperialistic fashion—into spheres of outside influence that negated most attempts at indigenous political development.

Consequently, in the major areas of community endeavor the internal, native hungers and needs of the expanding Negro population of St. Louis were always secondary to the economic and political appetites of forces and interests beyond the confines of the ghetto. Thus the Negro ghetto—for the most part—was structurally top-heavy with all of the functions and disabilities of an urban colony.

An Urban Colony

It served as a source of cheap labor with undue weight on menial occupations. It was the promised land for the high-profit, low up-keep - oriented absentee landlord. It operated as an area of high merchandising exploitation and usury in lending. It provided a strange, distorted twist for a municipal civil service system where merit somehow indexed Negroes for the most menial and back-breaking tasks in municipal government. It provided a contained educational system that was inferiorized and down-graded by master plan. It served as a health hazard where rats and disease were permitted to flourish contrary to municipal law. And it operated as a sanctuary where crime of Negro against Negro was permitted to degenerate into a dual system of justice and law enforcement.

Superimposed upon these dubious functions the ghetto was and is over-utilized as the raw material in producing votes in a constant stream of political efforts that never include the Negro in the human equation. It was this excessive feeding and caring of these outside appetites that contributed immensely to the kind of moral malnutrition and deep social ferment that characterize the St. Louis and other U.S. ghettos today.

New Political Awareness

Leading up to our adventure in community journalism some of us had been involved in the planning and leadership of the successful 1959 campaign of Rev. John J. Hicks for the Board of Education, and had felt the negative undercurrents that plagued Negro candidacies in previous board elections. During the same year we actively supported the efforts of William Clay and Lawrence Woodson in the aldermanic campaigns of the 26th and 20th wards, and witnessed the emergence of youth as a political factor in Negro community affairs. In the spring and summer of 1960 we gave a great deal of effort to the successful election of T. D. McNeal — the first Negro elected to the Missouri Senate. All of these were home-grown political efforts that came from within the community and wholly unrelated— at the time — to outside political manipulation.

These developments were the raw materials for the *New Citizen* group. The emerging political thrust of the Negro community became the central editorial theme. It rejected both the colonial nature of politics in the ghetto as well as the self-defeating parochial weaknesses of the Negro community in the area of broad municipal problems. It was the contention at the time that the Negro community had a massive stake in revitalizing the city and its economy. The 1961 bond issue represented the big break with short-term political parochialism and the Negro community clearly demonstrated its potential as a major force for up-grading the physical and economic face of the city. Could it do the same for its own political self interest and groping sense of self-confidence?

The Ten Priorities

An immediate short-term program was adopted by the New Citizen group with a set of political priorities designed to lend weight to what was preferred to as a *"full political partnership"* between Negro and white in the city of St. Louis. The list of minimum priorities, developed in early 1961, were based on the assumption that the two groups must constitute a community of political equals and any recognition of this equality must take practical form in the following areas:

Political Partners

(1) The immediate passage of a strong Fair Employment Practices ordinance by the St. Louis Board of Aldermen.

(2) The passage of an effective civil rights or public accommodations ordinance by the St. Louis Board of Aldermen.

(3) The appointment of a competent Negro by the Mayor to one of the top administrative posts in municipal government.

(4) Effecting an agreement among Democratic leaders to fully back and support a Negro for one of the three major municipal offices.

(5) Affecting an agreement among Democratic leaders to fully back and support a Negro for one of the major county patronage offices.

(6) The appointment of a Negro by the Governor to both the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners and the Board of Election Commissioners.

(7) A new hard look at the structure of municipal commissions and boards (other than race relations) with the view of integrating competent Negroes into this area of municipal decision-making.

(8) The election of the second Negro to the Board of Education.

(9) To prepare the ground-work for full Democratic Party support of a qualified Negro for one of the St. Louis congressional seats.

(10) The development of a new sense of urgency and unity among Negro political leaders which is needed to firm up the growing political self-confidence emerging in the St. Louis Negro community.

The Tasks Today

These were the 10 points or political priorities advanced in early 1961. Today, some seven years later five have been achieved, but unfortunately five remained dormant and inert especially those that required concern and community statesmanship on the part of white political leaders.

Today, the need for an effective working political partnership between Negro and white in St. Louis is more socially urgent than in 1961, but time, compounded indifference and changing Negro mood have added many difficulties. What could have been placed in community focus in 1961 with a measure of honest intent and recognition that change must come in the political balances of the city is now — in 1968 — far more complex and the price of adjusting to a new political partnership of equals is somewhat higher. The down payment on the sincerity of the dominant Democratic Party is higher and

the tempo of change must be faster. Several of the major reasons for the increased political costs are the Negro population factors, the white political resistance factors and the current Negro community social mood factors.

The Political Arithmetic

Perhaps the new urgency for an effective Negro-white political partnership could be rounded out with a view of the racial structure of the 28 wards in the city of St. Louis. Current census estimates indicate that approximately 95 percent of the city's Negro population is concentrated in 17 or 60 per cent of the wards. This current ward population range from 10 to 99 per cent Negro. Eleven of the wards can be classified as predominantly Negro and six listed as substantially Negro. In terms of Negro population concentration by wards the following is obtained:

Ward	% Negro	Percent Democratic
4th	99%	91%
18th	99%	89%
19th	99%	91%
20th	99%	90%
21st	99%	90%
22nd	99%	90%
26th	99%	92%
5th	80%	90%
3rd	60%	89%
7th	60%	79%
28th	60%	75%
25th	30%	60%
17th	25%	82%
8th	20%	72%
2nd	15%	70%
27th	15%	63%
1st	10%	63%

With the exception of the 25th ward all of these units are major Democratic Party strongholds. Eleven of these wards have a Democratic Party vote weight in excess of 75 percent of which five average 90 percent. The remaining five Democratic strongholds in this group of wards carry a vote weight ranging from 63 to 74 percent. Contrary to this high frequency Democratic support the eleven south St. Louis wards — with the exception of the 10th and 24th — are areas of marginal Democratic strength with significant Republican citadels operating in the 6th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 23rd wards. These figures and political party weights reflect the somewhat distorted and negative condition of marginal south St. Louis Democratic units absorbing most of the political policy posts while black north St. Louis provides only the sinews of party victories.

The New Priorities

It is within the frame of these political distortions that major readjustments must be made to ac-

commodate any viable political partnership between Negro and white in the city. To continue the politics of rejection and denial can only lead to open political warfare between the races, not only to the detriment of the Democratic Party but to the city as a whole. These problems of a new political parity spill over into the socially intensified areas of employment, housing, education, law enforcement, health and other community sectors that are down-grading the urban complex. Unless political leaders can approach these political problems between the races with a high degree of maturity and foresight there is little hope in approaching the more complex problems of urban degeneracy in any fruitful way. The following list of priorities is suggested as a meaningful basis for approaching any current effort to establish a needed Negro-white political partnership in St. Louis:

(1) Bring an end to the system of political colonialism in black North St. Louis.

(2) A political parity agreement among Democratic leaders which would redistribute equally the 12 county patronage offices between Negro and white leaders.

(3) An agreement among Democratic leaders to select a Negro Democratic committeeman for chairman of the Democratic Central Committee.

(4) Full Democratic party recognition of the need of electing a Negro congressman from St. Louis and full support of the boundaries of an urban district that does not violate the integrity of Negro voters.

(5) Full support of a Negro for one of three major municipal offices.

(6) Bring the administration of municipal government into realistic focus, and one that could provide a more equal distribution of top administrative and sub-cabinet posts between Negro and white civil servants.

The mistakes and gross indifferences of the past are luxuries that cannot be afforded today in the modern, troubled urban complex. There is far too much frightening handwriting on the urban wall. To continually ignore the potential, practical advantages of fully integrating the Negro citizen into the complex apparatus of urban government and administration is to invite disaster.

St. Louis could lead the way in the development of a viable, meaningful political partnership between black and white. It is worth the time and effort.

America's public education is in deep trouble

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

For all practical political purposes, tax-supported public education has lost both its support constituency and its will to survive as one of the major underpinings of an on-going democratic society.

The great tragedy we are witnessing today in the decade of the seventies is that of the tedious death march of public education towards extinction as a creative educational force in American life.

THERE ARE MANY factors that are playing their insidious role in the death march of public education. Among some are:

(1) Excessive educational deterioration in urban areas.

(2) Greater resistance to tax increases and bond issues for public education.

(3) The massive exodus of children from black and white middle-income families from the public schools.

(4) The current unproductive issue of desegregation and busing in school systems where educational deterioration is total.

(5) The loss of discipline in public schools.

(6) Low teacher expectation in many cases.

(7) Parent indifference in far too many instances.

(8) Major retreats from educational fundamentals and introduction of a countless number of "innovative notions."

NOW COMES PROPOSITION 13 of the California property tax revolution which likely will speed the death march of public education. Talk of the extension of the Proposition 13 approach to other states could easily be converted into a national revolution against tax-supported public education.

As we witness this death march of public education it may be instructive to take note of the gene-sis of tax-supported public education and the role it has played in advancing democratic ideas. A review of this background should be of special interest to union members because of the active role organized working men played in the creation of tax-supported public education.

This issue was one of the earliest demands of the new workingmen's movement in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As early as 1790 the mechanics and laborers of the Democratic Societies (Jefferson-oriented working class groups) were demanding public education. These early demands called for education of working class children "not as a grace and bounty of charity, but as a matter of right and duty."

FOR THE MOST PART the issue of public education in the early 19th century was divided along class lines. America, at the time maintained dual educational systems. There were the private schools for the well-to-do, and the "pauper" schools for the children of the working poor. The pauper schools were maintained at state expense and were conducted for children of parents who did not have sufficient means to send their children to private schools.

To obtain entrance to the pauper schools of the 19th century, parents had to openly take a "pauper's oath by declaring themselves "too poor to pay for the education of their children."

A great deal of social odium was attached to the degrading pauper schools. It perpetuated a social caste system in American life, and many parents preferred to leave their children without the poor and insufficient education provided by these class-oriented schools rather than have them branded with the stamp of pauperism.

THE IMPACT of this system of class dualism in education was the tremendous growth of illiteracy in the country. In 1830 there were some 1.3 million illiterate white children in the United States. In Pennsylvania, a somewhat socially progressive state at the time, out of 400,000 children, 250,000 did not attend any school.

For the most part, the pauper school system served to strengthen class lines in America. Many labor and progressive elements contended that the pauper schools were incompatible with democratic ideals. These groups of organized workingmen and others were convinced that without education their children would never be able to take their rightful place in American society.

The two-fold task was to eliminate the pauper schools and to institute a universal system of tax-supported public education. These early forces were opposed to the segregation of the poor for the purposes of education.

"EDUCATION," said one group of workingmen, "was necessary to enable us to raise us from the state of ignorance and poverty, and consequently of vice and wretchedness and woe in which we have degraded by the subtle and deceitful machinations of the crafty and wicked."

On the other side of this issue there were powerful interests not only opposed to universal tax-supported education, but also to universal manhood suffrage, a companion workingmen's issue during this period of the early 19th century. These forces (including the great Daniel Webster) were vehement in their opposition to removing property qualifications from the right to vote and tax-supported public education.

Tax-supported public education was called a socialistic scheme. One respectable Philadelphia newspaper indicated its strong opposition to "educating the poor" and gave some interesting class reasons:

"Classes are essential — one to work, the other to improve. One portion of mankind to be refined and cultured, the other to suffer, toil and live and die in vulgarity."

The National Gazette, a well-known Federalist paper had this to say in its opposition to a system of tax supported public education in the early 19th century:

"The peasant must labor during those hours of the day which his wealthy neighbor can give to abstract culture of his mind: otherwise, the earth would not yield enough for subsistence of all; the mechanic cannot abandon the operation of his trade for general studies; if he should, most of the conveniences of life and objects of exchange would be wanting; langour, decay, poverty, discomfort would soon be visible among all classes. No government can furnish what is incompatible with the very organization and being of civil society."

IT WAS IN THIS vast American wasteland of class prejudice, ignorance and contempt for democratic notions that the struggle for tax-supported public education developed. Under the leadership of the great public education statesman Horace Mann the first positive step was made in 1837 when the Massachusetts legislature enacted a law creating a state board of education, and on July 3, 1839, some 139 years ago, the first tax-supported public school was opened at Lexington, Mass.

The state also led the way with the enactment of the first compulsory school attendance law in 1852.

Are we now reverting to the pauper school system? Next month's column will address itself to that question.

Public Housing in St. Louis

by Ernest Calloway

For almost a half decade St. Louis public housing has tenaciously held on to the national reputation of being one of the worst operated public housing facilities in the U.S. For some strange reason this dubious reputation for civic indolence and inefficiency in an area of dire urban need bothered no one, least of all those who maintained self - interest proprietorships in a costly, wasteful system of public housing operations.

One of the amazing things in making a detailed inside review of local public housing is how it remained obscured from the public and operated as long as it did without falling flat on its fiscal face. Of course Democratic Washington and Fort Worth were always there to save the city's "face." Nonetheless, in June of 1969 this deep-seated condition had degenerated to the point where St. Louis public housing was scheduled for total bankruptcy by the end of the year with the many tenant dislocations and social tensions that bankruptcy could bring to a public housing community of nearly, 30,000 persons.

As a result of arbitrary rent increases, a rent withholding strike last February by housing tenants placed the problem in sharp community focus, and the threat of total bankruptcy became so apparent to many citizens that quick drastic action appeared to be the only possible course opened.

The strike, obviously, received little or no support from black politicians and many established black leaders. Yet, it was a classic example in grassroots self-determination. For the most part black politicians and some leaders viewed the strike as something they wished would quietly fade away, and leave the structure of the old self-interest proprietorships intact with business as usual in public housing.

But what they feared most did happen — a new unique system of citizen-tenant-housing administration communication and decision-making to replace the old system of political manipulations and self-interest proprietorships. The strike was settled, rents were rolled back under a formula of 25 percent of income, and the tenant gained a new decision - making voice in all operations of St. Louis public housing.

The creation of the unique Civic Alliance For Housing, Inc. was a brand new approach to sensitive urban problem solving. It operated on the notion of bringing all primary factors together in an atmosphere of mutual concern and equal footing in the consideration of a specific social problem. It was the beginning point in the re-ordering of human priorities and decision making in St. Louis public housing. This non-profit corporate body of 97 local citizens (including 34 Negro tenant and community leaders) in the business, religious, education, social welfare and other areas is a socially concerned mechanism.

It revamped the five-member Board of Housing Commissioners to include three Negroes and two whites. Two of these commissioners are tenant representatives (the chairman is a tenant), two are liberal young ministers and one is a young trade unionist. Independent and effective tenant organization is reflected in the newly established Tenant Affairs Board and the development of tenant associations at each project. It is through this expanding structure that tenants play an important decision-making role in St. Louis public housing today to the dismay of many black and white local politicians.

The recent layoff of 105 employees among the 300 or more came upon the recommendation of a professional firm of consultants employed to make a comprehensive study of housing staff and staff operations. This professional firm had originally recommended that almost half the jobs be subject to layoffs or combined for efficiency sake. The whole purpose was to reduce costs of operations, and possibly ward off bankruptcy. However, through extended discussions the number of layoffs was reduced to one-third. Race-wise, 40 percent of the whites were laid off, and nearly 30 per cent of the Negro staff. Before the layoffs Negro staff constituted 75 percent of total employment, after the layoffs they constituted in excess of 80 percent of total employment.

It was a hard decision for the Housing Authority and the Alliance to make, but it had to be made in an effort to get local public housing back on even keel financially. There was nothing indiscriminate nor discriminatory by any of the layoffs. They were based upon the ability to combine functions and competence in the effort to save money.

The position of general counsel was not eliminated nor was any assistant placed in that position. It was left open for future developments in the financial structure of public housing. Also every effort is being made by the Alliance to find adequate jobs for those that were laid off, and this effort is expected to be completed within the next two or three weeks. Neither will any pensions be lost because the lay-offs came two weeks before retirement. What is certain though is that the Alliance, the Housing Authority and the TAB are determined to redeem Public Housing in St. Louis.

New Search For Equality

by Ernest Calloway

This week I joined with Paul Priesler and others to challenge the constitutionality of the St. Louis city charter provision which requires that ward lines be constructed on the basis of the number of registered voters rather than population.

I joined in this civil action against the city, the board of aldermen and the board of election commissioners because I believe many citizens of St. Louis as well as myself are actually denied equal protection of the law according to the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Undoubtedly, the method in which ward lines are drawn in St. Louis tends to devalue municipal representation for some of our citizens while it inflates the representation for others. This unequal condition — on its face — appears to be contrary to the principle of "one man, one vote" as enunciated by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Strangely enough, legislative reapportionment as a means of insuring political equality—has not been firmly grasped by most of our Negro political leaders. They have been somewhat timid in the pursuit of this avenue of equality before the law. They seem to prefer to permit the many representational inequities to remain in our midst and evidently desire to work within the frame of these sordid political inequalities. As a matter of fact one weekly Negro newspaper only "discovered" the new first congressional district after a bitter reapportionment struggle in the Missouri legislature.

In our own experience Negro leadership has never "carried the ball" in Missouri for significant change in our old methods of legislative representation. This lonely task has been carried on mostly by Paul Preisler, a white liberal lawyer wholly outside the political establishment.

We recall in 1962 or thereabouts that we pointed out to some local Negro leaders that the Supreme Court's decision on legislative reapportionment was more fundamental and far-reaching in its social thrust that the desegregation decision of 1954. More than anything else it struck at the heart of political containment in the south as well as northern urban centers. At the time we urged the NAACP to give as much attention to this matter as it was giving to the desegregation of schools. Legislative reapportionment with the "one man, one vote" edict was the powerful companion piece that could run interference for other court decisions and legislation in the civil and human rights area.

But for the most part Negro political and civic leadership remained wholly indifferent to the previous efforts to reapportioned Congressional districts in Missouri. In the case of the reapportionment of the Missouri legislature two years ago this indifference appeared to have calcified. The net result is that Negro representation in the Missouri legislature was kept to a controllable minimum with little or no opposition from Negro leaders.

Now the difficult struggle begins in the city of St. Louis to make our Board of Aldermen and the structure of the 28 wards compatible with the principle of "one man, one vote." The present charter provision, which counts registered voters rather than population to determine ward lines, weighs heavily against the low income population of the city — both black and white. For example, in four random selected low income wards the aggregate population in 1960 represented 20 percent of the city's total, but commanded only 14 percent of the city's municipal representation.

Furthermore, this particular method of constructing ward lines has been consistently used to contain the political vitality of the expanding Negro community. As an instrument of representational containment it appears to be part and parcel of the system of political colonialism that is so pervasive in our central city today.

The last redistricting of our ward lines was primarily a racial dumping and hauling away operation. In north St. Louis most of the predominantly white wards sought refuge from the encroachment of expanding Negro population and with the assistance of accomodating Negro politicians all northside white wards were relieved of substantial portions of their Negro voters. However, in one west-end ward with a substantial number of white Republicans, several precincts of heavily Democratic 26th ward were "gerrymandered" into the white ward in order to strengthen the position of a new Democratic committeeman.

Under the present ward structure, based upon voter registration, the Negro community is caught in a minimum representational trap while its population moves rapidly towards the half and half mark. If this civil action is successful, it will open the trap and permit a new free flow of equality in political representation.

Creative Self-Determinism

by Ernest Calloway

From several vantage points the seven-month old public housing rent strike has been by far the most meaningful engagement in social action the St. Louis black ghetto has witnessed in recent years. In these troubled days of spurious and uncertain sounds from a bumper crop of racial trumpets, the local rent strike appears to be one of the few ghetto-based conflicts firmly rooted in socially reality and intimately related to the pressing problems of living, breathing people. Furthermore, its confrontation with power is also real and not bogged down in juvenile rhetoric: it is a confrontation of classical proportions in that it is one between determined little people holding firm against Big "Fork-tongued" Government—local, state and national.

The gallant grass-roots effort is essentially a demonstration of the social dynamics inherent in creative self-determinism, and suggests many profound object lessons for any black community seeking to unchain itself in the social, economic and political arrangement of things.

These lessons are extremely significant, especially at a time when the black community is hopelessly smothered by an avalanche of uncertain notions and non-involvement activties generated from afar and super-imposed upon the community by the trumpets of despair, frustration, publicity-searching self-seekers and governmental "pacification" bureaucrats.

One well-taught lesson provided by the rent strike is that prime social effort must be firmly rooted in common experience by the group directly affected. Group response and motivation moves from common experience and common pressures of human need. To move beyond the communality of experience and need without creative development and refinement of the problem is merely an open invitation to group frustration and a new sinking sense of group powerlessness.

This has been the primary lesson of the rent strike. It naturally expanded from a problem of immediate need growing out of common experience to an over-powering issue of governmental negligence and social short-sightedness in public housing policy. In the expansion process the group moved step by step from primitive experience to a sophisticated confrontation with national policy. In this sense the issue remains the same, but the battle-ground and the social landscape expands to the point where all can view the issue in broad perspective.

Another refreshing and hope-laden lesson from the rent strike is that it has been able to sustain its independent grass-roots flavor and consistency from within. Like all meaningful social effort, it has produced its own indigenous leaders and spokesmen. This would include the Rev. Buck Jones, Mrs. Jean King, Mrs. Ruby Russell and others. The leadership qualities of Rev. Jones are understandable and his public statements have been highly articulate and to the point. But Mrs. King with her clear, out-spoken voice steeped in the group struggle is an outstanding example of what the dynamics of real social conflict will do — it releases its own voices and leadership in pursuit of its and geared to human need as understood own goals.

This particular lesson should be available to many of the federal programs engaged in the arts and practices of **"pacification"** in the black ghetto, especially the anti-poverty and Model Cities programs. Both appear to be in the dubious business of **"leadership development"** among the black **"poor,"** and both operate on the false assumption that leadership is a social commodity that can be manufactured safely in a vacuum of guidelines, lesson plans, administrative blackmail and the economic carrot of personal reward **"if you don't rock the boat."** This is either sublime naivete or a conspiracy to **"house-break"** or "pacify" the trouble-ridden black ghettos without really getting at the sensitive causes of social discontent. It is our own personal opinion that the federal bureaucracy operates from self-interest and not naivete.

We have a primary example in the trials and tribulations of the local Model Cities program. Originally it was constructed on the notion of maximum grass roots involvement and the promise of community self-determinism. But federal bureaucrats found it necessary to renege when citizens of the area began assuming some leadership in the development of their community. Margaret Bush Wilson, the acting director of the Model Cities program and an outspoken advocate of maximum community participation, was terminated because she could not adapt to the game of black **"pacification."**

Creative self-determinism geared to common experience and collective need is a social strategy that rejects frustration, despair and the free-wheeling pacification bureaucrats whose careers are built on the misery of the black ghetto.

America's Third Class Citizens

Black Underclass Needs 'Selfhood' Revolution

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

One of the more significant problems of the black urban ghetto is the human sound barrier, or the absence of effective communication. While there is a great deal of talking, shouting and preaching in the residual ghettos of the nation, there is very little creative listening taking place.

A CLASSIC CASE in point is the life of Martin Luther King. Dr. King spent the last 10 years of his life attempting to communicate with black America in an effort to get us to grasp the creative, productive power of non-violence as both a social technique for change and a moral prop upon which to build our lives. The great tragedy in this instance is that the ears of black America never really heard King. The ears were attuned to a different drummer. We could not accept non-violence as a social technique.

Today, the black ghetto is in a communication crisis. Most of this is resulting from the massive exodus of middle-income blacks from the central cities into suburbia. Increasingly the ghetto has become the place of the black poor or the black "under-class." Consequently, the old inter-group communication systems are in shambles and the need to build some new ones for a depressed section of the black population is the order of the day.

AT THE CENTER of this new communication problem is the problem of much of the urban poor or "underclass." It is the problem of the inward self-view. It is with the self-view where fruitful communication begins.

It is the stimulating of a new self view on the part of the black poor that makes for a new self-hood revolution. If one cannot see one-self and his contained surroundings, one cannot effectively communicate or see others in their contained surroundings. In such an uncommunicative environment, individual survival depends upon instinct. And it is an instinct that operates without social ramifications or moral substance. It is the elementary nature of the survival instinct which compounds the problem and obscures the full social dimension of the self-view.

Consequently, one would conclude that what the ghetto "underclass" is in need of today, above everything else, is a continuing revolution in aggressive self-hood. In the absence of this new self-view in the bowels of the urban ghetto, federal and local welfare programs have only limited value.

ONE MUST KEEP in mind that the social and psychological distance between the vague and

Ernest Calloway

negative "thems, theys and us" and the more positive "I Am-ness and We Are-ness" is the long hard journey the dispossessed "underclass" must take to achieve a new measure of self-esteem and social well-being. Significantly, in making this journey the esteem and well being must be on their own terms and based upon their own groping values.

In many ways real education is the difficult process of discovering one-self and the complex world in which that self lives. This is not an easy task simply because there are a great number of elements in life that seek to obscure the values of the exciting journey into self discovery.

Yet, without the discovery of self and the many worlds around us, our prison is our own being and we serve as our own jailers. We become the ready-made victims of all the forces of human exploitation. It is only with the discovery of self and its real spiritual and social relationship to other selves that we achieve full lasting identity as human beings.

THE PROCESS DOES not stop with self-discovery. There is the ever continuing task of enhancing and refining the common dignity and the pursuit of common well-being. It should be pointed out that the search for that common dignity and well-being is the most dangerous enterprise man has engaged in during his long retreat from barbarity.

Stimulating the sense of self or self awareness produces a human dynamic that moves step by step in a forward direction. From selfhood, a new sense

of purpose can flow in the human personality. From here the self-hood revolution stimulates a new sense of involvement with others as well as the sense of belonging. From here the steps are easy towards a growing sense of group identity. At the point where the sense of self if strongly identified with group, the sense of meaningful participation in group effort increasingly becomes a major part of the character of self.

WE ARE NOW geting closer to the 'name of the game' in human problem solving. Today, the problems of poverty are increasingly problems of class as well as race. These problems can only be effectively dealt with by strong group commitment and common social action. Consequently, from the sense of meaningful participation in group effort, the odds are even that we can develop within the black under-class the articulate sense of group potential and collective power.

And this is where the revolution in aggressive self-hood can lead this urban black under-class. By the very economic and social nature of things, the enlightened self-view becomes the first step towards achieving the strong vantage point of collective power from which to conduct the never-ending struggle against group inequity, uneven circumstances and the total conquest of our own sense of inferiority and low self esteem.

St. Louis in transition

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

St. Louis is going through a new population crisis that may be more socially devastating than the one witnessed between 1950 and 1970.

The 1976 estimated population for the city has reached a new low. According to population experts, the city's population is down to the 516,000 level or a net loss of 17 per cent from the 1970 figure of 622,000.

THE CHARACTER of the present population crisis is somewhat different than the one that dominated the period between 1950 and 1970. In this period the city experienced the greatest loss of white, middle-income, child-bearing population among major U.S. cities. Suburbia absorbed most of this population with the city taking a net loss of 29 per cent over the two decades.

However, during the same two-decade period, the city's black population climbed from 153,000 in 1950 to 254,000 in 1970 or an increase of 66 per cent.

Consequently, the character of the population was one that was dominated by older whites and teen-age blacks. In the wake of this significant population shift, the social and economic character of the city changed. For St. Louis it produced an ever diminishing tax base, heavy welfare loads, massive teen-age unemployment, a continually deteriorating public educational system, housing and neighborhood decay and a host of other problems.

THE CRISIS HARDENED and the problems became a way of life for the city. In an Inter-City Hardship Index developed by Richard Nathan and Charles Adams, St. Louis is listed as second behind Newark, N.J.

With the coming of the 1970's the white movement towards suburbia began to slow down and there were small movements of middle income, young whites back into the city. The Lafayette Square development and certain sections of the Central West End reflected a healthy movement that in all probability will increase in the next few years.

In a survey of current estimated population by age levels, all age groupings in the city reflect a decrease with the exception of the productive, child-bearing age grouping between 25 and 34 years of age. Since 1970 this age group has increased by 10.9 per cent. The white increases is 14.1 per cent and the black 7.7 per cent.

WHILE YOUNG, middle-income whites are slowly moving back into the city and a well-planned gentryfication program is underway by several redevelopment corporations, a new population crisis has developed, however, because of a massive exodus of middle income blacks from the central city to certain areas of suburbia.

It is estimated that since 1970 between 7,000 and 9,000 blacks have been leaving the city for suburbia each year. Black doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers, ministers, police officers, postal employees, and even precinct workers of political organizations have left the city in great numbers and settled in a number of north county suburban enclaves.

REDLINING or the inability to secure mortgage money in the city is a major reason for this movement. Lending institutions that will not make money available in north St. Louis city will make it available in North County, especially in areas where federal foreclosures have taken place and from which whites are moving into St. Charles County.

It certainly appears that the city's hidden Depletion Strategy for North St. Louis is working with great precision.

The net effect of this massive movement of middle income blacks from the city is that it is changing the social character of the city's black population. The absentee landlord has now been joined by the absentee doctor, the absentee teacher, the absentee minister, the absentee policeman, the absentee social worker, the absentee mailman and even the absentee precinct captain.

The impact of this significant exodus of black middle income population to suburbia at a time when there is a small flow of middle income whites back into the city is a unique one, and is producing a new social and political vacuum in the St. Louis black community.

HISTORICALLY, the thrust for racial change in St. Louis has been — by and large — a black middle class effort. For the most part, poor and low income blacks, with few exceptions, notably the rent strike of 1969, have never been imtimately involved in the process of racial change. In politics the black poor have been over-used, exploited and far too often used merely as "voter fodder" by black and white politicians.

It is this socially abused black population — the welfare mother, the unemployed teen-ager, the black aged, the school drop-out, the pregnant, unmarried teen-ager, the under-employed, the unemployed and many others caught in the urban ghetto trap — that clings to the city as the more affluent black moves out.

Politically, a great deal of this population is rooted in indifference. It explains much of the fact that today black registration in the city is down to approximately 44 per cent of voting age population. It is this Operation Political Indifference at the base of the black community that also explains the defeat of John Bass as Comptroller in the recent municipal election.

THE PRIMARY CHALLENGE of this new black population development, especially in politics and social action, is one of producing some new systems of communication at the elemental base of the community. And the new systems must be rooted in truth, a new awareness of survival gut problems, and a new faith in each other.

Stratagem For Containment

'Depletion' Designation Would Perpetuate City's Racial Segregation

Ernest Calloway
In *Human Rights*

(Mr. Calloway is assistant professor of urban affairs at St. Louis University and a member of the city's Community Development Commission. Human Rights is published by the Commission on Human Rights of the St. Louis Archdiocese.)

mirror of public opinion

Recently a consulting firm submitted a memorandum to municipal officials on possible strategies to be used in implementing a proposed new comprehensive plan for the City of St. Louis. The new plan involved land use, transportation and community facilities, and was to replace the old land-use plan adopted by the city in 1947.

When the 1947 land-use plan for the city was adopted, there were few concerns for implementation strategies. This was at a point in time when St. Louis was psychologically preparing itself for entrance into that very exclusive club — the million-population city. In 1950, it was to achieve the 850,000 mark. Also 1947 was before the massive exodus of middle-income white residents from the central city to suburbia.

But much has happened to St. Louis since 1947, and it is quite possible that implementation strategies are needed in the development of an interim comprehensive plan for the city. Middle-income white and black people have left the city in great numbers; much industry has left; investment has left, and the city today is dominated by two population extremes — older whites and young blacks.

And too, the black population of the city has achieved the uneasy balance of 42 per cent.

Thus, it is quite possible that an implementation strategy is needed. The central question: What kind of strategy?

The suggested implementation strategies include a series of proposals that are quite sensitive and definitely controversial in a large section of the community.

More than this, a new chapter has been added to an old strategy that had haunted the black community of St. Louis for the whole of the twentieth century — the age-old strategy of racial containment, or the policy of restricting the living space of the city's black citizens. This ancient urban policy strategy has been institutionalized to the point of creating the black urban ghetto of St. Louis.

In many ways these containment strategies have also produced two distinct cities within one single political entity. One is a city of blacks, poverty and ghetto hopelessness, and the other is a city of whites, steeped in indifference, racial fear and seeking security in all-white sanctuaries. The city of the ghetto and the city of the sanctuary tell the modern tale of two cities.

The dividing lines between the two cities are not only racial, but they represent different value judgments, cultural impulses, economic relationships and psychological reactions. The division between these two urban compounds is extremely deep and has contributed more to the destruction of St. Louis as a viable and creative population center than any other factor.

It is against this backdrop that we must view the shock waves produced in the black ghetto by the so-called strategies for implementing the Comprehensive Plan for St. Louis. The suggested strategy (presented by the consultants for discussion) divided the city into three area types, namely: (1) Conservation area, (2) Redevelopment areas and (3) Depletion areas.

The Depletion areas constituted most of the black community of north St. Louis. Essentially, the suggested strategy was one of concentrating a high level of municipal services and creative attention to the predominantly white Conservation and Redevelopment areas, and a very limited amount of service to the predominantly black Depletion areas.

In the Depletion area the city is urged to follow a "no-growth" policy. In many areas of the black community, this was compared with Nixon's policy of benign neglect. As a matter of fact, the strategy suggested was not original Nonetheless, it was quite honest, and it brought out into the open what has been privately proposed as an ongoing urban strategy by a number of so-called conservative experts. These include not only Daniel Moynihan and his "benign neglect" advice to Richard Nixon, but also Professor Edward Banfield of Harvard, an urban adviser to Nixon, and most recently Anthony Downs of the Chicago-based Real Estate Research Corp.

Another part of the story is that this suggested policy of neglect of black north St. Louis and its nearly 200,000 citizens has been in effect for many years. It has been an insidious, hidden part of local urban policy for nearly two decades. This is reflected in the early profit-ridden period of block-busting by fear-promoting real estate operators; the massive "redlining" by lending institutions and insurance companies; and federal housing, highway and internal revenue policies that subsidized the growth of suburbia at the expense of the city; relaxed code enforcement induced by a large body of absentee landlords and the lucrative practice of "spot zoning" all over the area.

In this respect, the history of St. Louis is prototypical. Unfortunately, for the whole of the twentieth century, the city has been preoccupied with containment and benign neglect as they related to black living space. So much so that St. Louis got an early start in building its black ghetto.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the St. Louis black population was contained east of Jefferson Avenue, and Grand Avenue was the Mason-Dixon line. By 1910

however, some fears began to spread among northside white citizens. In that year a group of white home owners near Cora and Labadie avenues entered into a compact with each other that they would neither sell, lease nor rent their properties to black citizens. This was the beginning of the restrictive covenant movement against blacks in St. Louis. The covenent apparatus caught on as a new method of containing, and it expanded throughout north St. Louis. It was to serve as the hard core of the city's racial containment policy until 1948, when the restrictive covenant was declared unenforceable by the United States Supreme Court.

In 1914, the city adopted a new municipal charter which provided for the right of initiative petition by citizens. Following the adoption of the new charter, the first initiative petition was one of seeking a residential segregation ordinance in the city. This residential segregation law was to serve as a companion piece to the restrictive convenent thrust and to make the city's black containment policy total and complete.

By an overwhelming majority, the white citizens of St. Louis adopted the ordinance making it illegal for a black person to move into a block that was 50 per cent or more white. Black citizens challenged the law in the courts, but the State Supreme Court ruled that the city had the right to adopt such an ordinance. In 1917 however, this decision was overturned by the United States Supreme Court. As a consequence of this decision, black citizens by 1920 were able to weaken the Grand Avenue defense line and

begin moving across this major street hurdle. In 1948, with the Supreme Court's decision on restrictive covenents, the Kingshighway defense line was broken, and the blacks moved across.

Today, the black containment syndrome is just as determined as in the past, but it is somewhat more sophisticated. The use of zoning laws, the power of eminent domain, redlining, benign neglect, no-growth strategies and a host of other clever and "exotic" notions are actively pursued in the continuing drive to restrict the living space for blacks and to build safe sanctuaries for whites.

It is the age-old tale of two cities — the black ghetto and the white sanctuary. But whether ghetto or sanctuary, its institutional genesis is rooted in the same human fears and the same contempt for the human personality.

Lack of planning imperils badly needed funds

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

The news that St. Louis could lose millions of needed development dollars because it failed to spend some $25 million of its $32 million community development grant for 1978 as provided by the U.S. Housing and Urban Development Agency is, indeed, a staggering indictment of the city's inability to plan for across-the-board neighborhood rehabilitation and improve the quality of living space for the great majority of our moderate and low income citizens.

THERE ARE SEVERAL reasons for this spending gap, but one in particular is the fact that the St. Louis community development program since its inception in 1975 has been almost exclusively geared to "gentrification" of the city or the effort to encourage resettlement of the city by white, middle income citizens from the county. This has been a highly successful program, but it tended to undermine and blur municipal planning vision for those areas of greatest need in the city.

For a city that occupies the top of the inter-city "hardship index,"

it is somewhat ironic that St. Louis — even with sufficient community development funds — is unable to move against the neighborhood decay that dominates many sections of the city.

A RECENT STUDY by the Congressional Budget office classified St. Louis as one of the "most needy" of American cities. Another study by the General Accounting Office stated that the rate of housing abandonment in St. Louis from 1975 to 1977 was among the worst in 149 cities surveyed. The report also stated that blight and decay is on the increase in St. Louis with almost one-third of the city's housing stock in exceptionally poor condition.

A great deal of this problem of housing abandoment, weed-filled vacant lots owned by the city and urgent need for rehabilitation is found in North St. Louis, and specifically those nine broad neighborhood areas between Grand avenue and the city limits, and from Delmar boulevard on the south to Natural Bridge on the north. Today, this is the primary residual ghetto of St. Louis.

Since the inception of the community development program in

1975, St. Louis has received some $77 million in community development block grants from HUD. Over the past four years of activity, less than 3 per cent of this amount has been directly allocated to this particular North St. Louis moderate and low income area of greatest need. Most of this has been spent for some limited "house-keeping" operations and some social services.

CONSEQUENTLY, a great deal of the inability to spend funds for approved projects is firmly rooted in the fact that rehabilitation of these depressed areas of low and moderate income North St. Louis has never occupied the top of the agenda of the St. Louis Community Development Agency or Commission since the two were created by ordinance in 1975.

One of the deeper problems here is that planning as an integral part of the city's function was downgraded when the community development ordinance was passed by the Board of Aldermen. What was once a well-respected City Plan Commission with a predominant citizen board was converted into an all-purpose, "apples and

oranges" body that is not only "turf"-oriented, but politically active, with a tendency towards "pork-barrelling" in the distribution of some CDA funds. The independent citizen quality of the board changed to accomodate 10 ex-officio members from the municipal administration and the Board of Aldermen. The new ordinance required that the director of the agency serve as chairman of the commission. A case of classical conflict of interest. It is the same as having the Superintendent of Schools as President of the Board of Education.

THUS THE PROBLEM of getting rid of $25 million appears to be more than spending inertia. It's a problem of a lack aggressive planning with integrity, a problem of low priorities for the area of greatest need among the low and moderate income population of the city, a problem of failing to perceive the neighborhood as the center for creating the new livability that can add character and meaning to the modern city.

Sweat And Rhetoric

When it comes to positive social action St. Louis can be generally regarded as a high rhetoric, but under-involved, town. It is an urban center that is long on social verbiage, short on social sweat, and views group involvment as an unnecessary invitation to social concern. Possibly, it is these deep-seated folk customs that sustain the

CALLOWAY innate conservative character of the city and the high apathy quotient reflected in community life.

And there are few subject areas in the St. Louis black community where the rhetoric is more abundant, the collective knowledge more thread-bare and the real sweat and involvement less apparent than the over-riding matter of black voter registration.

As a matter of fact the deep gap between high talking and low doing in this area is so visible that the on-going rhetoric has produced a negative factor of diminishing return. In other words as the rhetoric of black voter registration increases the number of black registered voters diminishes.

During the past decade in black St. Louis we have had a bumper crop of groups adding their voice to the rhetoric of voter registration. There have been a vast number of meetings, conferences, discussions, press releases, program announcements, newspaper ads, radio spot announcements, leaflets, placards and every other form of exhortation supposedly directed towards the black citizen who is not registered to vote.

Yet, the real tragic story of this avalanche of rhetoric is brutally told in black registration figures. In 1960—the beginning point of the concentrated rhetoric—there were some 93,000 registered voters in the eight predominantly black wards of St. Louis. By 1965 the figure was down to 88,000, and now in 1970 registration in these same black wards is down to 67,000—some 26,000 voters less than in 1960. The real qualitative damage in these black registration figures is obtained in the fact that in 1960 the black voting age population in St. Louis was pegged at approximately 125,000, in 1965 nearly 140,000, and in 1970 it is estimated to be approximately 160,000.

However it should be pointed out that in 1960 in excess of 90 percent of the city's black population was concentrated in the eight predominantly black wards, while in 1970 it is estimated that 75 percent is located in these particular wards.

Nonetheless these wards continue to reflect the dominant trend in black voter registration apathy.

Beyond the confines of these all-black wards, there are four wards that may possibly have black population majorities if not a majority of the registered voters. Such wards would include the 3rd, 7th, 17th and 28th. Also there are four wards with a substantial black population that is constantly expanding. This would include such wards as the 1st, 2nd, 25th and 27th. Consequently, there are 16 wards out of the total of 28 political subdivisions where the Negro voter is either the dominant factor or a substantial factor to be reckoned with in the formulation of ward political decisions—that is, if he is registered to vote, and actually votes.

The arithmetic of black registration in relation to black voting age population on a ward basis is in a critical stage. In the eight predominantly black wards there is an approximate average of 14,000 persons of voting age. About ten percent of these can be eliminated from consideration for various legal reasons, leaving a net average of about 12,600 potential voters per ward.

Yet, according to the February, 1970 registration figures these eight black wards indicated a voter registration range from 7,100 voters in the 5th ward to 10,177 in the 20th ward with an average of 8,400 registered voters per ward or approximately 57 percent of net potential in the group of eight wards. To maintain a favorable voter registration condition under local St. Louis circumstances a ward should seek a minimum of 70 percent of its net potential. In the city as a whole only eight wards are able to maintain this favorable condition.

Thus, from an arithmetic point of view the great challenge facing the black community is that of finding and registering the 33,000 unregistered voters in the eight predominantly black wards, not to mention the thousands of others in wards with heavy black concentrations.

A successful voter registration effort does not depend upon rhetoric or slick promotion schemes. It is a hard exercise in sweat, detailed organization, manpower involvement and a great deal of patience with many persons who strongly resist the act of registering to vote. Many do not readily succumb to practical self-interest arguments and certianly not to vague, high sounding rhetoric unrelated to their own life experience.

Consequently, the task of the rhetoric-mongers is to lower their social profiles and really "get with it" in terms of daily sweat, detailed organization and practical

On Tokenism At City Hall

by Ernest Calloway

In 1961 a significant municipal breakthrough was made by the St. Louis Negro community when the first Negro was appointed to a top cabinet position in city government. It came in the form of the appointment of Chester Stoval as director of Welfare by Mayor Raymond R. Tucker.

That was nearly eight years ago. Since that time much turbulent water has gone over the dam to the extent that a revolution in attitude and mood now grips the urban core. Furthermore, since that time the Negro community of St. Louis has moved from 28 percent of the total city's population to nearly 40 percent at the present time and expects to be in excess of 50 percent within six years.

A Negro congressman has been elected; six additional Negroes have been elected to the Missouri General Assembly representing one third of the city's Democratic delegation to the state senate and lower house; additional Negroes have been elected to the Board of Aldermen; two Negroes have served as presidents of the Board of Education, and in law enforcement three Negroes have been advanced to police captains, one to major and a black commisioner has been appointed.

But for all practical purposes the top administration of St. Louis municipal government continues to operate in a near lily white vacuum as if nothing had happened over the past decade. What was new hope in 1961 for an expanding responsible role in the administration of a major American city had been converted by 1968 into a static symbol of patronizing tokenism. Beneath the surface of the excess wordage and imagery on the new St. Louis and its social vitality lurks the old racial prejudgments and the lack of real confidence in the administrative abilities of black St. Louisans in the operation of municipal government.

For the most part this is at the heart and core of much of the current urban dilemma — how to get over the psychological and cultural hump of real depth involvement of a majority — bent black community in the complex processes of modern municipal government. Strangely enough, this intra-city hang-up of "no confidence" contributes as much to social isolation as the suburban walls of fear.

The city of St. Louis is operated at the top of the heap by the Mayor, who serves as chief executive and administrator. He is assisted by a top administrative cabinet of seven municipal department heads including the directors of streets, public safety, public utilities, parks and recreation, welfare, health and hospitals, and the president of the board of public service. Other top key administrative posts are city counselor, assessor, city marshal, city register, supply commissioner, city planning director, auditorium manager, airport manager, human relations commissioner, director of personnel, civil defense director and executive secretary of human relations.

There are some 20 or more sub-cabinet posts including commissioners of streets, hospitals, traffic, health, parks, weights and measures, recreation, forestry, children services, building inspection, fire chief, smoke, water, adult services, legal aid, refuse, excise, power plants and street lighting.

Within this complex of administrative leadership at the top there is one major Negro administrator and two secondary administrators. Oddly enough these same spots were held by Negroes eight years ago. The only creative differences between now and then are that the names have been changed.

Of course the apologists for this in-bred tokenism will employ many evasions and trot out the whole gamut of studied prejudgments, but in the final analysis the only antidote to tokenism is a determined multiplication of effort and result. The black community of St. Louis today is too large, too politically aware, too socially beseiged, and too bent upon upgrading its role and destiny in the affairs of the city to be "pacified" at this late stage of the day with the old political shell game of tokenism.

Arithmetic-wise, which appears to be the essence of political pragmatism, it is a valid expectation to see three Negro administrators of cabinet status in municipal government in the spring of 1969. If there is a need to link black administration with sticky problem areas affecting large numbers of Negroes the sectors of welfare, parks and recreation, and health and hospitals easily come to mind.

Also, arithmetic-wise, a talent search should be made in the black community for a dozen or more commissioners or sub-cabinet level municipal administrators. And if necessary our universities should be called in to assist in professional training.

Anything less than this at the current stage of the game in municipal government becomes an open decision to continue the old shell game of in-bred tokenism.

OF TIME AND SOUND

Reasons for Black Underclass

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Contributing Editor

For all practical economic purposes, working black Americans, for obvious reasons, missed the free-wheeling, free enterprising opportunities provided by the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century. They were contained in chattel slavery during the first half of the century, and hopelessly smothered by agrarian peonage during the latter part of the century.

NOW IT APPEARS that economic history may be repeating itself in the case of the current, on-going "Technological Revolution." It is a revolution that is making massive changes in manpower requirements and allocation, economic and corporate structure and productive capability.

Perhaps a significant difference between our past economic history and our present is the question of unlimited productive capability. In the past we operated in a productive enviroment of economic scarcity, and in far too many cases that scarcity was planned as a result of economic concentration and monopoly. Nonetheless, most of our social tensions and economic fears flowed from this environment of scarcity, planned or otherwise.

TODAY, for the first time in our history the American economy has crossed a hallowed threshold of productive abundance (although now a maldistributed abundance.) — a Gross National Product of more than a trillion dollars. Even in current dollars that is a monumental value placed upon the goods and services produced in 1971.

But as we move deeper into the new enviroment of technologically-oriented productive abundance, a central issue for many is the status of an old, peculiar structure of economic inequity maintained primarily to guarantee a marginal, under-class of black American workers.

ASIDE FROM the general inequity in income distribution faced by large numbers of white workers, our economic history has been one which is hell bent on maintaining a black, marginal under-class within our labor force.

The black entered the colonial labor force as a chattel slave some 353 years ago. It was never intended that his economic presence would be permanent -- only transitory for limited, but needed, economic functions in a new virgin land that demanded cultivation.

Within this transitory over-view of the big land-owners, the black was considered sub-human, chattel and highly expendable. Although in 1619 he was brought to Jamestown as an indentured person similar to the indentured system that prevailed for white European indentures, his chattel slave status did not begin until 1642 when the colonial courts of Virginia began issuing a series of decisions that placed him in permanent servitude. His white indentured counterpart continued to operate under the classical systems of indentureship only to emerge economically a few steps above the slave as the "poor white" in a tight class land-owning structure.

NONETHELESS, the black slave's limited and contained economic role in our early colonial economy intensified his expendability. And it has been this unique expendable factor within a white European economic penetration of the North American continent that has dominated the black's 353-year existence as a part of the American labor force. While the history of this expendable factor has been erratic and served a variety of purposes, its essential character of maintaining the black economic marginal man has remained steadfast down through the centuries.

This factor of black economic expendability has produced three primary inter-related systems designed to keep the black "in his place" socially and economically. They are as follows: (1) a system of hard-core uneven circumstances, (2) a system of planned marginal employment and involvement in the economic apparatus, and (3) a system of institutional subordination based wholly on race and color.

THESE THREE inter-related systems of black economic subjection have done their job well. They are now a well established part of the complex economic fabric of American life, and for the most part have dominated the long, contentious social history of the black in America.

In the area of uneven circumstances the history has been extremely cruel. Within the frame of the Industrial Revolution during the 18th and 19th centuries, chattel slavery was perhaps the greatest of all unequal circumstances faced by the black work force. Equally significant is that slavery constituted a gross distortion of the economic assumptions of the early, classical, laissez-faire economists who produced the economic notions of a free-wheeling capitalism.

ALTHOUGH SLAVERY was ended constitutionally, the uneven circumstances were expanded through law, custom and myth. Planned inferior education systems, the social systems of jim crow, the exclusion from many unions, inferior health systems, and containment in slums and ghettos, all played their insidious part in the maintenance of a system of hard-core uneven circumstances. Furthermore, during the entire sweep of the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century the black worker was hopelessly tied to an ancient, feudal-oriented, agrarian system.

The systems of marginalism in employment are closely related to the systems of uneven circumstances. While circumstances are essentially southern in character, job marginalism is primarily a northern industrial invention. Most of it grows out of the intense competition for upper level industrial employment.

IN THE SEARCH for cheap industrial labor, the European immigrant was brought in at the point of increasing demand for unskilled labor, while the black was brought in near the point of the downward curve of need for unskilled labor. The whole history of black-white social tension in urban centers began in this frame-work of diminishing need for unskilled labor. For the most part blacks were relegated to menial employment on the periphery of industrial production.

Institutional subordination based on color is what many may refer to as "white racism". However, its function and purpose go far beyond the matter of individual racial hate. It is based upon the continuing notion that blacks are not really entitled to the same economic advantages that accrue to the dominant white middle sector of the national community.

THE MINOR ECONOMIC costs of tokenism, welfare dependency, poverty pacification, and even a phony black captialism can be carried by the system, but a full measure of benefit for blacks from an abundant American economy - no. no, no, a thousand times, no. If this were done, the ancient factor of black economic expendability would have lost its historic purpose, and the self-serving systems of uneven circumstances, marginality and institutional subordination would crash with thunderous economic impact.

Workers' Education

Over the years I have gained a small reputation as a labor organizer-teacher, or as some employers would put it — professional agitator-propagandist. It appears that definition largely depends upon the social vantage point.

CALLOWAY However, my first effort at teaching a class in workers' education, or the study of unions and worker problems, took place at Lynchburg, Virginia under the auspices of the Industrial Department of the local Negro YWCA. For a small southern city it was a unique class — it was racially integrated and the year was 1936. In all candor it was not because of anything that I had done, but resulted from a set of interesting circumstances.

The class began with a group of Black girls who worked at one of the local hosiery mills. Unrelated, but a few weeks afterward a state-wide workers' education conference was held at Roanoke which I attended. The conference organizers had invited Ernestine Friedman, workers' education specialist with the U.S. Department of Labor as the principal speaker. I had known Miss Friedman from Brookwood and we discussed my effort at Lynchburg.

During the conference representatives from each of the Virginia cities met with Miss Friedman to relate and discuss their special problems. The Lynchburg group, whose spokesman was the local white YWCA secretary, indicated their desire to develop a program but found it very difficult in getting classes started and also in obtaining a person to teach such a class. Miss Friedman observed that they were having some success at the Negro YWCA and suggested that the problem could be partially solved by sending their people to my class. The group agreed. I thought they were being polite in a very sensitive situation and would forget about the whole thing upon returning to Lynchburg.

But social history was made in this small, conservative southern city at the next meeting of our class. Some 20 white girls, members of a YWCA industrial club and employed mostly in local textile mills, showed up at the class. We had a round of introductions and after some additional efforts to create a comfortable atmosphere, we started the class from the beginning with more emphasis upon exchange of ideas and group discussion. Within a week or two the ice was broken and new ideas began to take hold among these black and white working girls.

Lester Granger of the National Urban League was on a speaking tour of the south. We contacted him and he agreed to come to Lynchburg and speak to my class. He was surprised at the level of discussion of common problems, and pointed out to the group that he was greatly encouraged by the fact that anything like this could take place in the south.

The Brookwood Drama group was touring the south for the first time. We discussed it and the class decided that it would like to sponsor the Brookwooders in Lynchburg. We were able to get a date, and the class went to work on a series of committees — housing, place, ticket sales, publicity, etc. They selected a Negro fraternal hall with the hope that segregation in seating could be eliminated or kept to a minimum.

The appearance of the Brookwood Players in the Negro community produced several interesting developments. Many well-to-do Negroes in this extremely conservative community were disturbed and somewhat apprehensive by the whole affair. On the other hand the Brookwood experiment in social drama did attract a group of local white college professors who brought their classes in sociology and economics to the performance in the black community. Consequently the hall was packed with the members of the class and their friends, Negro WPA workers and unemployed as well as students from the very exclusive girls school Sweet Briar College and students from Randolph-Macon and Lynchburg colleges.

The third development dealt with the local police. They were still on our trail for what they considered a "communist invasion" and violation of Virginia's segregation laws in our organization of the unemployed. I was informed by a Negro leader in the community that the police planned to descend on the hall and break up the affair. That night two carloads of police did come and demanded admittance to see what was going on. They went in, stood quietly in the rear, but made no effort to arrest anyone although the audience was not segregated. They remained through the whole performance and I have always thought that it was the quality of the audience — students and professors — that kept them at bay. They evidently had expected an audience of poor whites and blacks.

The Brookwood appearance was a success. Even many Negroes who had purposely failed to attend the affair because of fear wanted to know when the next such group would be in town. They wanted to attend, I was informed. However, the real value came in improving the quality of discussion in our classes. More important, it gave this small group of black and white working girls from the mills of the town

Reflections:

Young Blacks And Old Whites

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Now that we have eliminated the Job Corps Training Center, buried the Junior College tax increase, defeated the Convention Center bond issue, and missed an opportunity to elect a Negro as President of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, we can all return to the more exciting social games of complaining and griping about the city's galloping decay and the organic hopelessness facing our young black men and women.

In these several cases we have succeeded in getting the second year of the Socially Sensitive Seventies off to a good traditional St. Louis start. We have not only pinched and saved a few pennies, but we have indicated that we will have no more of this nonsense of seeking a more vibrant St. Louis, and especially one that can offer hope and opportunity to the young people of our city. In this case "what you see is what you get," and that is very little.

And so, we will continue to wallow in our high crime rate, wring our collective hands over galloping drug addiction among the young, count the number of unproductive broaded up buildings, serenely watch the black infant mortality rate in St. Louis rise to new disgraceful heights, speculate on the extremely high levels of black teen-age unemployment, and generally compounding the social inertia that is so comfortable and yeilding in a city on a collision course toward social and economic bankruptcy.

It seems that we have accepted defeat as an urban community. Perhaps it is this creeping urban fatalism which can shed some light on the fact that — according to the 1970 census figures — the central city of St. Louis is losing much of its highly productive middle population (25 to 44 years of age), and has become a city of racial-population extremes — young blacks and old whites. One is retiring from the labor market, and the other is struggling against great odds to enter the labor market.

These gaps are generally reflected in the fact that 53 percent of the black population of the city is 24 years of age or under, and 44 percent of the white population is 45 years of age or older. Viewed from another vantage point in terms of extremes, 54 percent of the city's total population 14 years and younger is black, and 77 percent of the city's total population over 65 is white.

The age structure of the St. Louis black population shows that 53 percent is 24 years of age and under; 21 percent between 25 to 44 years of age, and 26 percent 45 years of age and older. In the extreme department 8 percent of the city's black population is 65 years and over, and 34 percent is 14 years or younger.

On the other hand the age structure of the city's white population reveals that 35 percent is 24 years of age and under; 21 percent between 25 to 44 years of age, and 44 percent 45 years and over. In terms of age extremes 19 percent of the white population is 65 years of age and older, and 20 percent is 14 years of age and under.

Consequently, the figures reveal that — for all practical purposes — 39 percent of the city's white population is found in the unproductive years as compared with 42 percent for blacks. Interestingly enough, the percentage for both black and white in the highly productive years (25 to 44) is pegged at the same level — 21 percent.

The deepening gaps in urban age levels give us a small clue to the somewhat irreconcilable nature of many of the social problems of the community. It is a growing gap without an expanding productive age group that could absorb much of the social shock that these two age extremes produce. Undoubtedly, these two dominant age extremes represent two different worlds without normal contact (teen-age blacks and retired whites), have produced two different value systems, are engrossed in two different thought patterns in which one is dominated by social anxiety and the other is enveloped in growing hostility, and one sees America in terms of old comfortable myths and the other sees it in terms of a growing awareness of himself upon the back-drop of expanding social conflict and the ravages of new technology.

Moreover, these two racial-age extremes in their domination of the central city population present the human frame-work for many of our social problems and the cost arithmetic of meeting these problems in the central city. This involves such areas as public education, law enforcement, welfare and public assistance, recreation, health, employment, housing and many other needs. Simply because these are the two age groupings with the greatest need and the greatest demand upon these services.